

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXII, No. 4

Total Number 321

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for April 1943

EDITORIAL COMMENT	<i>Alfred Willoughby</i>	166
THE POSTWAR CITY	<i>Thomas H. Reed</i>	168
A PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR POSTWAR PLANNING	<i>Merrill E. Bush</i>	175
LIQUOR REGULATION: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?	<i>Paul Studenski</i>	180
IS THE SHORT BALLOT PRINCIPLE OBSOLETE? <i>O. Garfield Jones</i>	185	
THIRTY YEARS OF MANAGER GOVERNMENT	<i>J. A. Raffield</i>	188
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST: APRIL		190
ON THE LOCAL FRONT	<i>Zilpha C. Franklin</i>	192
CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW		195
NEWS IN REVIEW		196
Editors: <i>H. M. Olmsted</i> , City, State, Nation, 196; <i>Elwood N. Thompson</i> , Citizen Action, 204; <i>Wade S. Smith</i> , Taxation and Finance, 210; <i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i> , County and Township, 213; <i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i> , Proportional Representation, 214.		
BOOKS IN REVIEW	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	217

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Reports and Reporting

WITHIN the past generation more and more cities have adopted the wholesome custom of reporting to the people annually on how their public services have been run. This is in line with the philosophy which happily is gaining adherents that public officials are servants of the public and that they possess a public trust, not a private oyster to exploit on behalf of themselves and their personal friends and followers.

Only by having such information can citizens play their basic role of voting intelligently on issues and candidates.

With all the progress in public reporting which has been made, there is still need for the designer of a report to bear in mind that his duty is not necessarily fulfilled simply by a presentation of pertinent facts. A document which will report the facts to a trained accountant would be of little significance to the average citizen, the one to whom the report actually should be addressed.

Would it be sufficient, then, to couch the report in simple terms which anyone can understand? Not necessarily, for the author of the report, desiring that it be widely read, should have in mind the short time between dinner and a favorite radio commentator during which the citizen might feel he has time to spare. He should have in mind also that his report will be in competition for reader acceptance with a great vol-

ume of material which has been made as attractive, appetizing, and challenging as advertising men, artists, and public relations experts can make it. There is no real point in taking the attitude that it is the citizen's duty to read what is good for him and for his community. Right or wrong, things just don't work out that way.

The scientific technician is prone to question the soundness of anything which has been sugar-coated to make it more palatable and too often there is a tendency to feel that dullness must be the handmaiden of scholarship.

A shining illustration of a report that is both physically attractive and soundly informative is the one issued by Kansas City, Missouri, for the year 1941-42. From it the well informed highly intelligent citizen can gain all the information he could possibly want about how his city is run, with nothing cheap and shallow to offend him even though the retarded citizen can understand and appreciate and enjoy the many beautiful pictures which in themselves "tell a story." This report, by the way, must be like joyous spring sunshine to Kansas Cityans after the long generation of a blackout of information on public affairs while the Pendergast machine held sway.

Another interesting and perhaps pioneer example which might well be studied in some communities which

are addicted to voluminous and detailed "books" is the recent report of Rochester, New York. Although this report, as a wartime economy measure, has been cut to six pages from the previous year's thirty-two, it is clear, meaty, and thoroughly informative.

There is no excuse for a municipal report, intended for popular consumption, to be dull, weighty, and unattractive. Adequate preliminary planning and study should make it possible to separate the essential and significant facts from unimportant technical detail which the average

citizen is unable to understand.

Progress in the technique of fact-assembling and presentation has been very great, largely due to the influence of the International City Managers' Association and its checklist of facts which best illustrate municipal operations. Perhaps it should also be recognized that reporting, in addition to being the job of the technician, is the job of the public relations man. Some of the most effective reports issued by public agencies are those on which outside publicity and advertising agencies have collaborated.

When Are We Old Enough?

NEW support for the idea of lowering the voting age to eighteen is being won by the argument that anyone old enough to fight for his country is old enough to have a say in how his city, county, state, and nation are to be run.

This proposition seems fair enough, and there are even more logical and attractive arguments. While there unquestionably are grounds for the claim that youth is more receptive than age to radical, untested, and sometimes dangerous ideas, it isn't

the mere passage of years which produces responsible, intelligent, well informed voters. Election results are heavy with evidence to the contrary.

Many young men and women of eighteen, fresh from courses which have encouraged them to examine public affairs in their own communities, are more alive to civic problems than are their parents. But as a young person moves on from high school into that painful three-year period during which he is almost

(Continued on Page 220)

Frank O. Lowden, a vice-president and former member of the Council of the National Municipal League, died on March 20 in Tucson, Arizona, at the age of eighty-two, after a long and notable career of public service. While Governor of Illinois, Mr. Lowden instituted sweeping reorganization. He also served as a member of Congress and narrowly missed nomination for the presidency in 1920. A blacksmith's son born in a log cabin, Mr. Lowden worked his way through school and to a position of wealth and influence. During his later years, when he retired to the operation of his farms in Illinois and New York, his counsel as an elder statesman was frequently sought.

Charles W. Tooke, professor emeritus at New York University School of Law and an authority on municipal law, died March 2 at seventy-two. Dr. Tooke, editor from 1926 to 1932 of "Judicial Decisions," a section of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, was identified with the American Bar Association's Section on Municipal Law in several capacities. He had taught at various institutions since 1895.

The Postwar City

It is not enough for experts to make plans. They must be down to earth, have support of public opinion, and be accepted by democratically-elected officials.

By THOMAS H. REED
Municipal Consultant

THOSE who expect the pattern of urban living to undergo a swift and revolutionary change in the post-war period are in all probability doomed to disappointment. We will not be living day after tomorrow in some Utopian dream city. Changes will take place but they will be gradual changes. This is inevitable because of the overwhelming mass of vested rights and the large proportion which existing buildings bear to current resources for building. Cities often grow rapidly under some special economic stimulus, but they die slowly, and even in growing cities old sections long preserve their physical characteristics if not their social standing.

Even where flood, fire, hurricane, earthquake, or bomb havoc have cleared the ground of existing structures there is a strong tendency for cities to be rebuilt on their old street patterns, if for no other reason than because the adjustment or extinguishment of private rights necessary to a new street layout is inevitably such a time-consuming process that the city's economic life cannot brook the delay. This was true in the sacked towns of the middle ages, of London after the great fire, of San Francisco after its fire, and of Tokyo after its last great earthquake. Even dictatorial authority hesitates to buck the desire of men to get back to work.

The most striking example in history of the reconstitution of a great city, the development of the boulevard system in Paris under Napoleon III, left most of the narrow streets and crowded rookeries of old Paris nestling securely in the arms of a few spectacular thoroughfares. Parisian living was not revolutionized, and in the teeming suburbs the worst of housing conditions grew up unchecked.

We may expect after the war therefore that our cities will continue or resume that evolution which has been taking place in the past few decades. Here and there the tendencies of the time will be hastened or restrained by public policy, but by and large the process of decentralization will go on.

The territorial expansion of cities which began when gunpowder released the medieval city from the prison of its walls and grew great with improved means of transportation has undoubtedly received fresh stimulus from the exposure of cities to attack from the air. Until a means of defense against bombing has been found it will be to the advantage of every country to distribute its industries and its commercial and living centers more widely than has been our habit.

But even the desire for protection from hostile blitz will have to accommodate itself to the fact that vast in-

vestments cannot be scrapped and large numbers of people voluntarily separated from their native soil, except with considerable deliberation. The chances are that a 1943 Rip Van Winkle could have his sleep out and come back to a thoroughly recognizable New York in 1963—improved but not revolutionized.

Such slow progress may not satisfy the impatience of those who want to use lavish expenditure on city rebuilding as a means of keeping the national income up to 110 billions; it is much more compatible with our actual capacities. It should be clear to anyone that the investment of vast sums in the hurried rebuilding of cities in the wrong way would be disastrous from every point of view. To be sure we were doing it in the right way would require sound master plans for every urban area, including in each case a fairly definitive land-use pattern, ideal densities of population for each sub-area, and a co-ordinated system of transportation and terminals, accompanied—in the words of one of the strongest “hurry-uppers”—“by the data necessary to justify all assumptions of future change.”¹ This last is of the utmost importance when rebuilding for the next half to three-quarters of a century.

It is a regrettable fact, however, that there are only a handful of cities which have master plans on which any one, except in some cases their immediate authors, would desire to predicate wholesale rebuilding. Nor

is there any prospect for the swift evolution of such plans for communities in general. Where can the best and wisest planners get the “data necessary to justify all assumptions as to future change.” Who can foretell today where the rapidly shifting population of the country will settle down after the war—or where it should settle down?

Even Planners Differ

Wishful thinkers can find data to justify in their minds almost any assumption as to the future, but honest scientists are in real confusion. For example, there are indications to support the prophecy that New York City will lose a million inhabitants before the next census. The present trend of population and business from New York, however, may be only temporary and the conclusions of steady growth reached by the Regional Plan Association some years ago may in the long run prove reliable. Who knows? You can't very well plan a house without knowing the size of the family.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that planners differ among themselves. Take the matter of density, for example. The New York City Housing Authority, with the approval of the Planning Commission, has recently committed itself to a project in South Harlem where the density is to be 456 to the acre. The Citizens Housing Council has made the welkin ring with its indignant cries that this is two or three times too many. At the same time Professor Hansen, in his article in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for February, urges

¹Alvin Hansen, “The City of the Future,” NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1943.

that "except for such of the population without young children as prefer to live in multiple structures every dwelling-unit should have some plot of ground of its own." Single-family homes on separate lots mean a density of fifty to sixty persons to the acre, from one-fifth to one-fourth of the average density of residential blocks in Manhattan. The cost of providing for transportation and for municipal services, if our great city populations were dispersed so thinly, leads other planners to advocate multiple dwellings and communal recreation areas. Until such questions are settled among planners, however, we are not going to be ready for wholesale rebuilding.

Popular Support Necessary

It is not enough, moreover, for experts to make plans. To be effective they must have the support of public opinion and be accepted by democratically elected officials. Take the matter of land-use patterns—essential to plans for city rebuilding. The New York City Planning Commission a few years ago prepared a tentative long-range land-use map. Irrespective of whether the work was well done or not, it was a beginning on the long delayed master plan of New York. The public at large never understood what was going on and remained indifferent so that when Robert Moses, a pronounced opponent of the land-use plan, was put in actual if not nominal command of the Planning Commission it was easy for him to ditch the whole project. Technical city planning in New York received a bad black eye. As this

article is written, the National Resources Planning Board has been totally rejected by Congress. It would be doing no service to planning to suggest that most politicians, especially local politicians, give anything more than lip service to that fundamental function of government.

In other words, it is sheer romanticism to talk about wholesale planned rebuilding of our cities until the American people and their representatives have been sold on planning. If they are to be sold, it will have to be a whole lot better planning than, except in some isolated cases, we have yet done. We have done a lot more talking about planning than we have done planning, and many of our so-called plans are no better than pretty dream pictures which do credit to the imagination and draughtsmanship of their authors but are not real plans.

A proper plan differs from a dream, not so much in the technique of its presentation as in being so closely related to human experience that reasonable non-technical men can be induced to act on it. To make good plans it is necessary to call in the skills not only of the architect and the engineer, but of the economist, the political scientist, the sociologist, and of the masters of finance, administration, and industrial organization. To organize enough such teams to provide complete plans for all our cities is a work not of years but of decades.

It may be asked, "Would not the offer of extensive federal aid toward city rebuilding conditioned on approved plans immediately stimulate

prodigious planning activity?" Yes, activity of a sort. Under such circumstances every city in the country would hasten to make a plan. There would be many more jobs for planners than there are properly qualified planners to fill them. Haste, lack of adequate personnel, absence of recognized standards, and the multiple vagaries of uninformed local public opinion would result in a flood of "plans" on which it would be folly to invest the productive energy of the country.

If the prime motive of the federal government were to improve planning, or to build better cities, many of these plans would be rejected. Federally-aided urban redevelopment would then proceed slowly in a relatively small number of communities until the rest had learned the lesson and a legion of planners had grown up to help them. This would be sound, constructive, and commendable. It would not, however, satisfy those who look on urban redevelopment chiefly as a means of pouring billions of government expenditure into the economic blood-stream of the nation. The close scrutiny of local plans would defeat their purpose. Such deliberate procedure would disappoint too those eager souls without historical sense who want everything done at once. We must beware both of the spenders for spending's sake and the starry-eyed optimists who are their first cousins if we are to do our rebuilding soundly.

There is much that can be done in the urban redevelopment field in the postwar period to counteract unem-

ployment and a slowing down in our productive machine. It is a prime condition of success in this, however, that no more be undertaken than can be carefully and soundly planned to contribute, in reasonable proportion to the size of the investment, to the efficiency and productivity of our national economy.

Slums vs. Urban Blight

This conclusion in favor of deliberation is strongly reinforced when we consider the financial aspects of the subject. The purpose of urban redevelopment should be primarily to cure the evils of overcrowding and slum living and to counteract the influence of blight. The first is primarily a social and the latter an economic problem. It is possible to solve the first while making the second more difficult. Slums are often found in blighted areas, but not all slums are blighted. The old New York East Side, in the days of its greatest overcrowding, was a terrible slum, but it brought handsome returns to the owners of its disgraceful properties. The movement of population away from it has diminished its evil character as a slum but plunged it into a hopeless sea of blight.

Low-rent housing projects in outlying areas can relieve slum conditions. Clearance can remove them altogether, but both together cannot restore the economic status of the area. Indeed, they may make it worse. Furthermore, a large proportion of blight is caused by mere obsolescence which reduces the value of property for its present use without its becoming available for any other.

Blight, in this sense, attacks business and industrial as well as residential areas. Its chief victim, aside from the immediate owners of the property, is the city government which sees its tax base shrinking without any corresponding reduction in its spending requirements.

To check the spread of blight, and by rebuilding restore the depreciated areas to the best use for which they are adapted, should promote the economic soundness of the community and put a better foundation under the city treasury. As an economic problem, however, there would be no use in solving it by the creation of other economic problems equally or more burdensome to the community. If good plans were ready everywhere, there is no way of financing such a colossal project as the immediate rebuilding of American cities extensively enough to conquer blight without a serious threat to our economic order.

The amount involved is prodigious, and what is worse, a very great sum must be spent—it would be better to say wasted—in preliminary preparations before a brick can be laid. Professor Alvin Hansen, one of the principal advocates of large-scale rebuilding, finds—very correctly—in the high prices demanded by owners of blighted property a practically impossible obstacle to redevelopment by private initiative or public low-rent housing projects. He therefore proposes that the federal government absorb the difference between market value or condemnation price, on the one hand, and real value in use, on the other. Under this plan, the only

one proposed under which immediate rebuilding would be possible, the federal government would provide funds with which the city would acquire blighted property to be developed in accordance with an approved plan. Some of the land would be used for streets, parks, and other public improvements. The remainder would be let by the city on long-term leases at a ground rent sufficiently low to encourage redevelopment either by public or private agencies. The city would pay to the federal government only the difference between the ground rent and the equivalent of normal municipal taxes—probably very little.

Making the Federal Government Pay

While it is impossible to say just what the cost of thus clearing the ground for redevelopment would be, forty-five or fifty billions is a modest estimate. The moment the federal government announced its willingness to buy blighted property at its condemnation price, speculation in blighted lots would start. The government would pay through the nose for the privilege of bailing the owners out of their depreciated investments. Whatever sum was borrowed by the United States to finance this operation would become a direct burden on the federal taxpayer, since no pretense is made that the project would be in any real sense self-liquidating. This irredeemable federal investment would, of course, start some local government and private spending for redevelopment. It is certain, however, that the total investment—federal, local, and private—would be far

in excess of the value created.

There are two opinions about the Hansen-Greer or Keynesian prescription for postwar prosperity. Some accept and some reject their thesis that a program of government expenditures can be relied on to maintain the national income at the 110-billion-dollar level and that in so doing we need not be concerned that the national debt is piling up to 200 billions or more. This is not the place to argue that question. Even adherents of these doctrines, however, have reason to be concerned over the investment of billions, not in creating value or increasing productivity but in liquidating the existing losses of the owners of blighted property. Only on the theory—which no responsible economist supports—that not only can there not be too much government spending, but that it makes no difference what the spending is for, can this particular type of investment be justified. In its most favorable light it is a costly means of promoting local government and private investment of doubtful magnitude, and in view of the planning bottle-neck, of more than doubtful permanent value. Money or productive energy spent in building cities in the wrong places and in the wrong way is worse than useless waste. Even assuming a sound plan, it is no better in each case than a forced hastening of the process of decay to make possible a fresh start from scratch, a permanent assumption by the whole community of the losses of blight.

It would be truly unfortunate if a mirage of the future city—rebuilt by such doubtful means—should lead us

to relax our efforts in behalf of the more pedestrian measures which experience and common sense suggest as means of mitigating and gradually solving the problem of blight. Dispersion of urban population—highly desirable as it is where densities are now too high—has been going on too rapidly and without adequate control. It can be checked and controls established over the living pattern of our rapidly growing suburbs. Subdivision control on the Cincinnati model, building and sanitary codes to protect the migrants in their new locations, improved zoning regulations covering use and density factors, will not only retard the outward movement of those who seek supposedly cheap living but will prevent the rapid growth of potential slums which is now going on in the environs of our large cities. It would be silly to spend billions getting rid of slums inside while allowing other slums to grow up outside. The federal government can greatly aid in this by directing the policy of FHA to conform to local efforts to channel the flood of outward moving population.

Improve the City

More and better enforced plans for the major transportation and other features of the growing environs can prevent in some degree at least the misdirection of the outward movement. A reconsideration of federal, state, and local spending policies, which in recent years have emphasized bridges, tunnels, and superhighways, to make it easy for people to escape from the city, to the exclusion

of those improvements which might make it more comfortable to remain in the city, could check to any desired degree the suburban trend and create a motive for the rehabilitation of moderately blighted areas.

Many blighted areas are simply old districts from which the original population has followed the Joneses to new homes in the outskirts. These districts have no great anti-social conditions to combat now, though they may if present tendencies continue. They do not need to be torn down and rebuilt, only rehabilitated. Some good new schools such as they have in newer sections, more parks and open spaces, satisfactory sewers, well cared for streets, traffic safety control, and, by no means least, a workable smoke prevention ordinance, would check the progress of blight in these districts and encourage the repair and reconstruction of thousands of homes. No one doubts that within proper limits public works are a commendable means of limiting the effects of depression. Directed as suggested here, they can do much to reverse population trends.

At the same time the problem of the more seriously blighted areas can be attacked directly. Rezoning to eliminate excessive classification for commerce and industry would have a wholesome effect on the "value" of property. Courageous assessing which met squarely the problem of declining values would further help without much reducing net revenues collected. High assessments in such areas are often the cause of an excess of delinquent taxes. Unvarying adherence to the means provided by

law for enforcing the payment of real estate taxes, and improvements in the law to allow proceedings *in rem*, would quickly put numerous parcels in public ownership.

Strict enforcement of tenement house and sanitary regulations would close or demolish many of the worst structures and diminish the resistance of their owners to redevelopment. Severe regulations as to the character of new construction and loyal support of master plans where they exist—and may there soon be more of them—will prevent new complications from arising.

By the combination of such means the ground can be cleared for rebuilding, not so quickly but infinitely more cheaply than by buying out all existing proprietors at a stroke, much more fairly too when one thinks of others with bad investments whom no one proposes to bail out.

Metropolitan Areas Problem

To cap this program, the local governments in metropolitan areas should be consolidated and tax burdens equalized throughout them. This would vigorously implement the means suggested for controlling suburban expansion. It would put municipal finance on a sounder basis. It would also remove one of the most powerful motives for the outward movement of population—the hope of having near the urban periphery rural taxes without giving up city advantages. If it is said that such integration is politically impossible it is the same thing as saying that effective local self-government is impossible. It would also write finis over

(Continued on Page 189)

A People's Institute for Postwar Planning

An Experiment in Democratic Group Thinking Sponsored by Temple University, Philadelphia, February 18, 19 and 20.

By MERRILL E. BUSH
Teachers College, Temple University

THREE enormously complex problems confronting postwar United States challenge the most searching and painstaking thought of which the American public is capable. Simply stated, they are: (1) What shall be America's relation to the postwar world order? (2) What shall be America's postwar educational policy? and (3) What shall be America's postwar economic organization?

On February 18, 19, and 20 a cross-section of the American public residing in the Philadelphia area wrestled with these problems under the guidance of experienced discussion leaders. Competent guest speakers¹ contributed the results of

their thinking to clarify the issues involved, but the keynote of the Institute for Postwar Planning, sponsored by Temple University, was the co-operative exchange of ideas among the people themselves in a series of small discussion groups continuing throughout the three days.

No blue print was formulated, no final conclusions were reached; this was not our purpose. We feel that it is not the function of the people to work out detailed plans; that is the task of the experts. But it is the prerogative of the people to determine what they want, to lay an injunction upon the planners which stipulates: "These things we demand; those we will not tolerate."

The purpose of the project was threefold: (1) to acquaint a cross-section of the public with certain basic postwar problems and with current proposals for their solution; (2) to work out areas of agreement in terms of fundamental principles for evaluating such plans; and (3) to illustrate the democratic method of group thinking in its application to important issues which challenge the American way of life.

A continuing nucleus of some three hundred men and women representing various groups within the community was present for nearly all sessions. Over six hundred invited

¹Guest speakers who addressed the Institute were:

On Problems of World Organization
Dr. Mousheng Lin, Editor, Chinese News Service, representing Asia

Dr. John S. Badeau, Dean, American University at Cairo, Europe and Near East

Arthur Sweetser, United States Office of War Information, United States

On Problems of Postwar Education in the United States

President Harry D. Gideonse, Brooklyn College, New York

Clinton S. Golden, United Steel Workers of America and War Manpower Commission

On Preventing a Postwar Depression

Professor Alvin H. Hansen, Harvard University and War Manpower Commission

William Benton, Vice-President, University of Chicago and Committee for Economic Development

guests were present for one of the evening meetings. Twelve groups, four for each of the three topics, held four two-hour discussions. Each participant who agreed to attend all scheduled meetings of a discussion group was assigned to one of those discussing the topic of his choice. Since the groups met simultaneously, it was possible to maintain a fairly constant membership throughout the sessions and also to insure a reasonably typical representation of varied interests and backgrounds in each. This plan of organization enabled discussion to develop through the stages implicit in the purpose of the Institute.

Agenda Prepared

In order to facilitate this development the discussion leaders⁸ met prior to the Institute to draw up discussion agenda. The result is interesting and significant. All agreed that each group, regardless of topic, should follow the same main themes, one for each of the four meetings. After considerable deliberation and in the light of the purposes of the conference, these themes were stated as follows:

⁸The success of any such project depends primarily upon the skill and experience of those whose task it is to guide group thinking. The competent leader is keenly aware that his task is to draw forth "the sense of the meeting," as the Quakers express it. No leader worthy of the name will permit himself to dominate the discussion nor to impose his own ideas upon his group. We were peculiarly fortunate in securing the services of men outstanding in their mastery of the discussion technique. They include Dr. Francis K. Ballaine, Department of Philosophy, Adelphi College; Dr. Karl R. Bopp, Research Director of the Federal Reserve Bank in Philadel-

1. What will be the major issues in the postwar world and out of what situations will they arise?

2. What policies are proposed to meet these issues and on what grounds are they supported?

3. Upon what elements in these proposals do we agree, and why? Upon what elements do we disagree, and why?

4. What shall be done about our disagreements? How can we forward and implement those policies upon which we agree?

Each of these central themes was somewhat reworded to adapt it to the topic under discussion by a particular group. In addition each discussion leader was asked to work out five or six discussion-provoking questions under each theme for his own use. A brief description of the Institute purposes and procedures as well as a statement of the four themes for discussion under each of the three topics was mimeographed and placed

phia; Dr. Le Roy Bowman, Supervisor of Adult Education, the University of the State of New York; Professor Phillips Bradley, Department of Political Science, Queens College; Professor Harrison S. Elliott, Union Theological Seminary; Dr. William T. R. Fox, Institute of International Relations, Yale University; Mr. Philip E. Jacob of the Civilian Public Service Division, American Friends Service Committee; Mr. Bruno Lasker, Research Associate, Institute of Pacific Relations; Dr. John W. Nason, President of Swarthmore College; Professor Houston Peterson, Division of Social Philosophy, Cooper Union; Dr. Ordway Tead, Chairman of the Board of Higher Education, New York City, and Editor, Economic Books, Harper & Brothers; and Mr. E. N. Thompson, Consultant for the National Resources Planning Board and Assistant Secretary of the National Municipal League.

in the hands of the participants.

The planning, organization, and administration of the Institute were done by a volunteer planning committee of some fifty faculty members and students from Temple University. An Executive Committee of eleven faculty members,³ with the author of this article as chairman, took the initiative in formulating policies and carrying out the details of organization. The administrative officers of the University gave generously of their time, energy, and enthusiasm to insuring the success of the project. President Robert L. Johnson, Vice-President Millard E. Gladfelter, and University Secretary William W. Tomlinson spent many hours in consultation with members of the Ex-

³The Executive Committee included Dr. J. Stewart Burgess, Professor of Sociology; Miss Nancy Campbell, Department of Music Education; Dr. Barrows Dunham, Assistant Professor of Philosophy; Dr. Walter D. Ferguson, Associate Professor of English; Mr. Daniel M. Fisk, Assistant Professor of History; Miss M. Catherine Hinckley, Department of Biology; Mr. Charles L. Katz, Reference Librarian; Dr. Russell H. Mack, Associate Professor of Economics; Dr. Henry J. Rehn, Associate Professor of Business Administration; and Dr. Raymond S. Short, Assistant Professor of Political Science. Some of these had been meeting at frequent intervals for over a year as members of the Committee on Postwar Planning, the purpose of which has been to work out ways in which the University might provide leadership in problems arising out of the current emergency. One of the projects sponsored by this Committee is a series of forums for high school youth centering in the theme, "World War II—Its Implications for Youth and the Future." Attendance at these forums has run as high as 450 high school pupils and faculty members, representing over fifty schools in Philadelphia and its suburban areas.

ecutive Committee. The President presided at the two luncheon and two dinner meetings to which the Institute audience was invited as guests of the University.

Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, of Columbia University, gave invaluable assistance in formulating the original plan of the Institute, directing faculty thinking in a series of planning meetings, suggesting speakers and discussion leaders, and contributing generously of his experience with conferences concerned with similar problems. Officially Director of the Institute, Dr. Lindeman was unfortunately prevented by illness from attending the actual sessions.

It should be pointed out that, ideally, such a project would result from the joint planning of the organization sponsoring the conference and representatives of the groups invited to attend. We believe that nowhere does the American genius show itself more effectively than in the voluntary organization of coöperating groups for joint planning and action on common problems.⁴ We also believe that no attack upon community problems can be truly democratic which does not bring together representatives of all the groups affected. Unquestionably, a People's Institute should be planned by the people. In the present case, however, the exigencies of the war effort seemed to preclude the actual calling together of such a representative committee

⁴The article, "Rochester Plans for Peace," by Harold W. Sanford, appearing in the February issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, is an excellent illustration of this form of democratic action.

to work through the details of policy, much less of organization.

Civic Groups Assist

The reader must not suppose, however, that representatives of interested groups were not consulted. An essential part of the audience-building program, preceding the Institute, was the discussion of plans with innumerable citizens who were in a position to make recommendations and to suggest participants. Business and trade organizations, organized labor, representatives of the churches, women's clubs, community organizations, service agencies, group workers, public and private educational groups, members of racial and national groups, professional associations, governmental and political personnel, all were informed in advance of the project and asked to contribute suggestions and lists of possible participants. They were approached both in personal interviews and through letters. More than 1850 names were recommended by leaders in these various groups and invitations to participate were sent to all.

Mrs. Stella Fisher Burgess, wife of a member of the faculty and well acquainted with numerous organizations in the community, performed yeoman's service in the audience-building task. Several members of the Executive Committee also took part. As a result, acceptance of invitations far exceeded our fondest expectations. In view of the large block of time consumed by the meetings—three afternoons, three evenings, and a Saturday morning—the facts that all the groups mentioned

were represented and that the audience was about equally divided between men and women give eloquent evidence both of the timeliness of the project and of the far-reaching public interest in the problems discussed.

Vigorous requests for continuation of the discussions were made in each of the twelve discussion groups and subsequently in numerous letters. Two of the groups voted to continue their meetings whether the University decided to sponsor a follow-up program or not. Several suggestions have been received for some sort of a community council to coördinate studies of various problems involved in postwar planning for the Philadelphia area.

In view of these persistent appeals, the University decided to hold another meeting of the discussion groups on March 26. It is our hope that interested participants will initiate similar groups in their own local communities and that a genuine people's movement leading to the clarification of postwar policies in the public mind may result. Plans also are being made to call together representative community leaders to consider the feasibility of long-range planning under the three headings selected for study at the Institute.

Publication of the Institute Proceedings is contemplated as an important part of the follow-up program. This will include the addresses by guest speakers, a description of the organization and procedure of the Institute, an indication of the types of questions which arose in the discussion groups and the attitudes ex-

pressed, and the summaries of those discussions by President Nason representing the groups on world organization, Professor Peterson on postwar education, and Dr. Ordway Tead on economic organization.

FACULTY AND STUDENTS ACTIVE

A word should be inserted here to clarify the part played by the Temple faculty and students in assuring the smooth operation of the conference. Not only did the Planning Committee hold a number of meetings to formulate the general plan, but it also divided into three subcommittees to prepare outlines for the guidance of discussion leaders, to familiarize themselves with the problems involved in the three Institute topics, to work out lists of available materials for study by Institute participants, and to prepare bibliographies and summaries of factual information for the use of the discussion groups.

An official faculty representative was present in each of the discussion groups, each speaker and leader was provided with an official host, and several of the faculty served as recorders to assist the leaders in keeping track of the group discussion. When one of the discussion leaders was unexpectedly detained and unable to attend the opening meeting of his group, the faculty representative took charge of the discussion. Student volunteers contributed splendid service in the capacities of registrars, ushers, runners, secretaries, and reporters. It was possible, for example, to give each discussion leader a list of persons assigned to his group in advance and later to present each

member of the discussion groups with a list of the members who attended his group.

The ready acceptance of invitations to the Institute and the many enthusiastic letters received from participants suggest that similar projects might well be organized by interested groups throughout the United States. Many there are who realize all too keenly how easily we may win the war only to lose the peace. Our experience following World War I made painfully apparent the fact that our greatest enemy is public apathy.

If we can work, and think, and plan fast enough and wisely enough, we shall enter the most exciting, challenging, and inspiring era the world has ever known. Almost within our grasp lie a standard of living and a mutual understanding for the peoples of the world hitherto impossible. The United States is peculiarly fitted—by fate, by circumstance, by temperament, by ideals—for this feat of human engineering.

If we fail we may never have another such opportunity. Already our leadership is gravely challenged. Was it H. G. Wells who cried out that we are witnessing a tragic race between the forces of education and the forces of destruction? Let us acquaint the people with the opportunity; let us face them with the supreme challenge. Once before the people forced their planners to incorporate a Bill of Rights in the foundation of the state they were building. Shall the people prepare a new Magna Charta for the world?

Liquor Regulation: Success or Failure?

Our system of regulation has served the public interest well; it has imposed reasonable restraint on the industry and has not interfered unduly with personal freedoms.

By PAUL STUDENSKI
New York University

THE war has furnished the prohibitionists with an opportunity to open a nation-wide campaign for a return to prohibition. They are doubtless sincere in their contention that the banishment of liquor "for the duration" near military cantonments—or anywhere throughout the land—is necessary for the promotion of the health and morale of both our fighting forces and civilian population and for the strengthening of our war effort.¹

The present campaign seems to involve mainly the question whether our military and civil authorities can suppress excessive drinking among members of our fighting forces while in training and on leave. In reality,

¹See the resolutions passed by the 154th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which met in Milwaukee on May 27, 1942, and by the Anti-Saloon League and other organizations which have consistently advocated prohibition.

The pressure which the dries have exerted on military authorities is also evidenced by the recent promulgation by the War Department of a circular banishing the sale of liquor in officers' clubs in all military camps and reservations. The dries had directed the attention of the Department to the fact that in 1901 Congress had enacted a law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors upon "any premises used for military purposes by the United States" and that this law, although long since forgotten, was still on the statute books. For further information see the *New York Times* of February 4, 1943.

however, it involves the question whether the consumption of liquor is against public interest in all its manifestations or only in some and, if it is only in some, whether it is possible, while tolerating harmless forms of drinking, to suppress the others through effective public regulation.

One way of meeting this issue is to survey our experience of the past ten years in the public regulation of the liquor traffic established immediately after repeal. Such a review rather than emotional prejudices of individuals should constitute, in part at least, the basis for a consideration of the nature of any modification.

The reintroduction of the legalized sale and consumption of liquor in 1933, after the disappointing experience of prohibition, was marked by public demand for the establishment of effective government regulation over the operations of the industry. Such regulation, it was hoped, would prevent the recurrence of the disgraceful conditions associated with the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages during pre-prohibition days, as well as speedily terminate the equally, or even more, unsatisfactory conditions which developed in conjunction with the illicit production and sale of liquor during the subsequent era. As a result, the liquor business has been subjected to more

extensive regulation than even the public utilities industry. The objectives which public regulation of the liquor business should achieve have been defined with fair clarity in this country, first, in the various public discussions at the time the question of repeal was being decided and, subsequently, when the first liquor control laws were being framed in the various states.²

Objectives of Control

These objectives can be summarized under the following seven heads: (1) the disassociation of the business from all types of lawlessness with which it had become associated during the prohibition era, as well as from all forms of vice with which some branches of it became connected; (2) prevention of the return of the old-time saloon with all its filth and human degradation; (3) disassociation of the business from corrupt politics; (4) promotion of fair trade practices, in view of the past notorious deficiency of certain branches of the industry in this respect; (5) promotion of temperance in the sense of moderation in the use of liquor rather than complete abstinence therefrom; (6) adjustment of the regulation to local sentiment; and (7) procurement for the public treasury of a large revenue from the liquor trade.

The elaboration and enforcement of these objectives has been entrusted mainly to the state governments. The federal government for a time participated actively in interstate aspects of regulation through the Federal Liquor

Control Administration. Eventually, however, it relaxed its efforts in this direction. It abolished the authority and limited its concern to the collection of revenue and suppression of bootlegging through the Alcohol Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, that is, to the purely *fiscal* aspects of the activity. Thus, achievement of the *social* objectives of public regulation of the liquor business became practically the concern of the states alone.

That state regulation has been motivated more extensively by social than by fiscal considerations is amply demonstrated: (a) the bulk of the pertinent state statutes and local ordinances deal with regulations having reference thereto; (b) the issuance, retention, and renewal of licenses are made subject to compliance with these regulations; (c) in a majority of the states enforcement of regulations is entrusted to a specially created agency, rather than to the existing fiscal department; and (d) the agency in question is generally given wide powers of interpretation and implementation of regulations.

Public Opinion

Admitting that public opinion expressed itself clearly on the objectives which regulation should serve and the best methods of achieving them, are these objectives still considered paramount by the public and are they being achieved with reasonable efficiency in most states? The answer to these questions is, in general, yes. If the public had radically changed its mind on the subject or had felt that the objectives in question were not being served by the existing system

²See "Liquor Control: Principles, Model Law," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Supplement, January 1934.

of regulation, it would have expressed itself to that effect. Organizations would have sprung up to bring about modifications in existing laws or methods of administration, or existing civic agencies would have taken up the cudgels on behalf of such reforms. But, except in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and a few other states, no such public demand has developed. Even where it has, the conditions responsible have been corrected either by an adjustment in the law or change in the administrative personnel, or correction can be expected soon.

In only one state, South Carolina, has a sharp change in public attitude come into evidence. In an advisory referendum, held a year or more ago, a majority vote was cast in favor of a prohibition of all sales of liquor in the state. No change has been made in the law, however; the legislature is still seeking a substitute revenue.

It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that public opinion has not changed in its basic attitude toward liquor from that expressed in the great national poll held ten years ago and that the task of the state legislators, governors, and especially the liquor control administrators—who have been given everywhere vast powers of discretion—still is that of giving a fuller expression and effect to this mandate of the people.

Liquor Industry Assists

On the whole, our state legislators, governors, and liquor control administrators have interpreted their responsibilities in exactly these terms. Fortunately, they have been assisted in this task by the organized liquor industry itself, which as a matter of

self-preservation has tended to conduct its operations in a manner consistent with the public interest. Members of the industry have realized that in the event of any major breakdown in the existing system of regulation a revulsion of public sentiment may readily take place.

Our system of liquor regulation has been fairly successful in the achievement of the first-mentioned social objective, that of stamping out bootlegging and other illicit operations which had developed during the prohibition era. The reduction in the number of seizures of illicit stills and in the average size of the stills seized during the past few years testifies to the fact that bootlegging has been on the decrease. The number of stills seized dropped from 15,712 in 1935 to 10,663 in 1940 and the volume of mash seized dropped from 21,373,107 to 6,480,240 gallons during the same period.³ We have also made some progress in disassociating the liquor business from gambling and other vice, though there still remains much to be done in that direction.

We have been partially successful in our efforts to prevent the return of the old-time saloon. The requirements that food be served on the premises and that there should be perfect visibility—no rear rooms closed from view—as well as admission of women to places serving

³See "Liquor Taxes and Public Welfare," Special Supplement to the *Journal of Commerce*, January 24, 1941 (articles by Elizabeth Lane Lamont, the author, and others); also the writer's article on "Liquor Taxation" in *Tax Magazine*, January 1936; and his report on "Liquor Taxes and the Bootlegger," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Supplement, January 1935.

liquor, have helped make the modern drinking place far more decent than was the old saloon. The careful selection of applicants for licenses to sell liquor for consumption on the premises, restriction in the number of licensees, issuance of separate cheaper licenses for the sale of beer and wine, provision that places involved be located a certain distance from schools and other public buildings—all these and other regulations have helped to bring this about.

We have succeeded in disassociating the liquor business from the worst types of political corruption with which it was connected in the old days. No longer do the brewers run the legislatures and municipal administrations by maintaining politicians on their payrolls or offering to the owners of retail outlets protection against violation of the liquor laws. Of course, we have not eliminated politics altogether from the liquor business. Here and there politics have crept into appointments to the regulating agencies, the granting of licenses, or the purchases of liquor by liquor monopolies. We will always experience a certain amount of difficulty in keeping the administration of our liquor laws free from these excrescences and must exercise eternal vigilance.

Fair Trade Practices

We have made considerable progress in the promotion of fair practices in the liquor trade. We have certainly succeeded in stamping out such unfair methods of competition as the maintenance of the so-called "tied houses," that is, saloons controlled by individual brewers and dis-

tillers through indirect ownership, extension of credit, rebate of prices, etc. We have done a great deal to suppress other forms of unfair domination of the retail outlets by manufacturers. Thus, most of the states have made it illegal for manufacturers of liquor to require retailers to handle only their products or to take and dispose of a certain quota of them. Limitations have been imposed on the value of the advertising displays which any particular manufacturer may furnish a retailer free of charge. Regulations have promoted the proper labeling of liquor, standardized the sizes of bottles, and checked the tendencies toward misleading and exaggerated advertisements.

Attempts have been made in some eighteen or more states to regulate prices and to introduce uniformity and stability therein in the interest of fair trade.⁴ Such regulations re-

"The most popular special price legislation in the alcoholic beverage field," says Joe de Ganahl in an article on "Trade Practices and Price Control in the Alcoholic Beverage Industry" (*Law and Contemporary Problems*, Autumn 1940), "is that which prohibits the sale of alcoholic beverages in a state unless it is sold pursuant to fair trade contracts. Arizona, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, and South Carolina have such provisions. In some of the states contracts must be approved by administrative officers; in a number of them filing of a contract on a brand by one dealer excuses the others from filing; in others the contracts need not be filed, but the prices must be posted with the authorities. Publication is sometimes required in trade papers and in a number of states all parties affected must be notified individually. Some provide for maximum periods before prices can be changed. Some specifically include private labels, while many of them follow the conventional pattern and make the fair trade acts applicable only to merchandise in competition."

quire the posting of prices, prohibit special price discounts and rebates by distillers and wholesalers to favored retailers, legalize the fixing by distillers of the minimum and maximum resale prices, permit price fixing by trade associations, fix maximum markups, and require the filing of contracts with the state authority. Many of these regulations are evaded. Others seem to work to the advantage of certain branches of the trade and disadvantage of others, and are harmful to the public interest. Even if it were possible to make such regulations completely effective, it is questionable whether they are desirable from a public point of view under normal conditions.

Our system of regulation has, I believe, promoted greater moderation in the consumption of liquor through improvement in the character of both the package retail stores and the places where liquor is consumed on the premises, the prohibition of the sale of liquor to minors and intoxicated persons, the careful licensing of all retail outlets, and other such means. Regulation in this respect is being actively assisted by the liquor industry itself. Many distillers, brewers, and retailers advocate moderation in the use of liquor in their advertisements, and some of the liquor organizations have actively assisted public authorities in cleaning up places where objectionable conditions, fostering intemperance, exist. As one of the leading liquor control administrators has aptly expressed it, "To no group of people is temperance more important than to the group in the

liquor business. Every drunken man—even more, every drunken woman—is a liability to them and a threat to their industry." The fact that the industry realizes this augurs well for the possibility of our achieving this most difficult social objective in due time.

Most assuredly, our system of state regulation has been adjusted to variations in local situations and public sentiment, as shown by the differences in the types of regulation and the degree of their stringency from state to state, and sometimes even from district to district within a state.

We have certainly succeeded in achieving the strictly fiscal objectives of our regulation of the liquor trade, as evidenced by the large revenues obtained by federal, state, and local treasuries from its taxation. Liquor revenues to all levels of government amounted to \$1,085,951,868 for 1941⁵ as against \$604,000,000 for 1934—the first full year of legalized liquor consumption.⁶

By and large, our system of regulation of the liquor industry has served the public interest well. It has imposed reasonable restraint on the industry and has not interfered unduly with personal freedoms. The adjustment of our existing system of state regulation of liquor to meet peculiar wartime conditions should raise no special difficulties.

⁵See *Tax Yields 1941*, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, p. 28.

⁶See "Liquor Taxes and Public Welfare," op. cit., pp. 7 and 51.

Is the Short Ballot Principle Obsolete?

By O. GARFIELD JONES
Toledo University

This article is addressed to members of the National Municipal League because that organization has been giving much thought to the best methods of training for citizenship, especially on the college level. A clear-cut decision—in the form of recommendations, of course—by the National Municipal League on the points raised would have a decisive influence on the treatment of this subject in the texts on city government that will appear during the next ten years just as did the work of the Short Ballot Organization during the last thirty years. O. GARFIELD JONES.

THE official statement of the short ballot principle is both out of date and confusing. It lacks specificity. The fact that Harold Zink in his recent text on *Government of Cities in the United States* does not even mention the short ballot is, perhaps, his testimony to the effect that in its original form the statement no longer serves a useful purpose.

The short ballot principle as officially defined¹ is:

First, That only those offices should be elective which are important enough to attract (and deserve) public examination.

Second, That very few offices should be filled by election at any one time, so as to permit adequate and unconfused examination of the candidates, and so as to facilitate

the free and intelligent making of original tickets by any voter for himself unaided by political specialists.

Let us ignore the historical setting of some thirty years ago which brought the National Short Ballot organization into existence and examine its official statement in the light of present-day facts. Is not the second proposition better dealt with as that of separating local from state and national elections? The argument for this separation is quite distinct from that of centralization of administrative responsibility in a chief executive. The argument that city elections should be decided upon the basis of municipal issues can stand best upon its own feet.

Now, as for the first principle, "that only those offices should be elective which are important enough to attract (and deserve) public examination," there is a complete lack of specificity. This statement might be legitimately taken as an argument against election at large with or without proportional representation. There is no necessary implication that this principle aims any more directly at administrative offices than at legislative or judicial offices. It becomes apparent, however, as one follows the expanded argument, that the short ballot proponents are talking almost entirely about administrative offices.

¹The Short Ballot, The National Short Ballot Organization, New York, 1919, p. 2.

What Is Short Ballot

Then why not make this statement of the first principle in terms of administration so that the ordinary citizen can understand more clearly what the short ballot advocates are talking about. For example, it might be stated:

The short ballot system is a system of government in which there is centralization of administrative responsibility so that the voters elect only one—or, under the council manager plan, no—principal administrative officer.

Or, more briefly stated:

The short ballot system is a system of government in which few or no administrative officers are elected.

This would make it clear that the voter under the short ballot system is not asked to select many candidates about whom he knows little for many positions about which he knows less. The pathetic feature of most county elections is that they are worse than a scandal, they are a farce! Now, people may enjoy a farce very much, but in these days of high cost of government it is high time that we stop selecting our local administrators by a farcical method.

First of all, it should be made obvious that the short ballot system is not a matter of linear measurement. It certainly does not make for a better understanding of government by the average voter to discuss centralization of administration in county, city, or state government in the same breath with the elimination of the names of presidential electors from the federal ballot, under the pretext that both are steps toward the short ballot system.

Just to illustrate the present state of confusion concerning the short ballot, may I quote from Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government and Administration*?²

The modern trend is toward a shorter ballot. Coroners, sheriffs, department heads formerly elected are now appointed in many cities. (Page 128.)

On the one side are the people's representatives pledged to carry out the popular will. Certainly they must be elected. On the other side are the technicians, the experts, the administrators. They should be appointed, for the voters cannot properly be expected to know their qualifications. Chief Justice Ryan summed up the matter in a single sentence: "Where you want skill you must appoint; where you want representation, elect." (Page 141.)

. . . The short ballot is virtually implied in any scheme of administrative consolidation. (Page 145.)

So far, so good. But now look at his comment on page 191 where he explains the commission plan at Galveston. "*Moreover, the short ballot becomes a reality.*" And page 193: "The commission plan has been of value chiefly in concentrating responsibility."

Then on the very next page (194) he belies these last two statements by saying of the commission plan: "It has failed to concentrate responsibility sufficiently."

Thus, according to MacDonald, the commission plan "has failed to con-

²Since I am using this text in the largest group of municipal government students in the United States, it should be obvious that, in general, I consider it a good text.

centrate responsibility sufficiently" (page 194), even though under this plan "the short ballot becomes a reality" (page 191). Finally, at the bottom of page 194 he says, "It [the commission plan] puts five men in charge of administration instead of one. And though five heads may be better than one for deliberative purposes, one is greatly to be preferred when action is needed."

Just try to teach the short ballot principle by means of MacDonald's text and see what a hopeless state of confusion results in the mind of the student.

Restate the Principle

Certainly, the answer is not to ignore the short ballot principle as Zink does. Why not restate the principle so that it applies specifically to our present improved, even though not ideal, situation in city government?

Frankly, I state it to my students as follows:

A short ballot system is a system of centralized administrative responsibility in which the voters elect only one—or, in the city manager plan, no—administrative officer and the chief executive appoints the other administrative officials. The election of an auditor does not seriously impair the short ballot system because he is only a checking official: However, I favor the appointment of the auditor by the legislature as does Dr. John Fairlie.

I also make these two additional statements to clarify the principle in the mind of the student. "The short ballot system has nothing to do with legislative or judicial offices." And,

"It is possible to have a longer ballot under a short ballot system than under a long ballot system." Then I illustrate this by citing the long list of fifty some candidates for election-at-large to the Detroit city council. I also cite the first Toledo election under the city manager-P.R. council amendment when we had fifty candidates for council. A Lucas County election under its long ballot system seldom has more than thirty candidates on the November ballot.

It is interesting to note that none of the texts on public administration seem to mention the short ballot principle. The explanation is, I suppose, that they are considering government entirely from the angle of efficiency in administration and, therefore, are not considering the problem that faces the voter. The short ballot idea, on the other hand, considers government from the standpoint of the average voter.

But is it not a mistake to leave the voter uninformed as to the relationship between his problem of voting intelligently and the governmental problem of giving the maximum of public service at the minimum cost? In fixing their attention too closely upon the problems of efficiency and personnel management, have not our leaders in training for public service given too little thought to the problem of teaching the average citizen certain minimum essentials of administration without which he cannot vote intelligently? And will the voter, totally uninformed as to essential principles of administration, give that continuous support to sound adminis-

(Continued on Page 189)

Thirty Years of Manager Government

Sumter, South Carolina, well satisfied with history-making step taken in 1912; government is efficiently operated and free of politics.

By J. A. RAFFIELD
City Manager, Sumter, South Carolina

WHEN the voters of Sumter went to the polls on the second Tuesday in June 1912, and cast their ballots in favor of the council-manager form of government, they did not realize that history was being made and that thirty years later more than five hundred municipalities serving some eleven million people would have followed suit.¹ During these thirty years there has been no effort or movement to consider a change in this form in which Sumter pioneered and today its people are appreciative of the favorable publicity which has ensued.

The first city manager began work on January 1, 1913, the first council having been elected the preceding August and assuming office at that time.

Three members of Council—a mayor and two councilmen—are elected by the people for four-year terms, these terms being staggered so that at no period will the Council consist of all new men.

Sumter has ever been a progressive

and forward-looking community and, upon adoption of the new government, its officials planned for a business administration, free of politics, and efficiently operated. That this policy has been successful is reflected in the fact that at this time the bonded debt of the city is only \$171,000. All bonds are serial and a certain proportion are being retired annually. The city owns its water and sewer systems and has several beautiful parks and playgrounds. Its baseball stadium is used for spring training by the Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, Club.

While the city has the lowest tax levy of any city of its size in the state, streets, garbage collection, health, police and fire departments all enjoy splendid reputations for efficiency.

Named for General Thomas Sumter, famous "Gamecock of the Revolution," Sumter was selected as a courthouse site in the late 1700's. Located near the geographic center of South Carolina it enjoys a wonderful climate and is rich in historic interest. Previous to gas rationing thousands of Florida-bound tourists spent a night or more in one of the old colonial homes which have been opened for guests.

¹Sumter was the first city in the country to adopt a charter providing for the council-manager plan of government. In 1908 Staunton, Virginia, created the office of "general manager" by ordinance, adopting a manager plan charter in 1920.

The boll weevil inspired Sumter's industrial progress, leading directly to the manufacture of home and office furniture, chenille and candlewick bedspreads, maid's caps and aprons, which are now well known on a nation-wide basis. Ten years after adoption of the council-manager form of government, the boll weevil struck the cotton field, cutting the county's crop from 65,000 bales in 1921 to only 9,000 in 1922. Necessity became the mother of progress and today, with its industry, its diversified agriculture, and its rich trading area, Sumter ranks high in the trade news.

Public satisfaction with the municipal government is evidenced by the fact that Mayor Fulton B. Creech has held his office for ten and a half years and served as councilman for four years prior to his election as mayor. Last year he received Sumter's annual Good Citizenship Trophy, bestowed each year, by a joint committee selected from the local Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, to Sumter's most valuable citizen. Of the two councilmen, P. J. Gallagher has served six and a half years and Herbert A. Moses four and a half years. The city manager has served for eight and a half years. Prior to his service as manager he was a councilman for eight and mayor for four years.

Through its contacts with the Chamber of Commerce and with civic and civil organizations, the city government coöperates fully in every phase of community planning and building.

THE POSTWAR CITY

(Continued from Page 174)

any scheme of planned rebuilding of metropolitan communities for experience has demonstrated that plans, without a coördinated governmental agency to execute and enforce them, are rarely worth the paper and ink of which they are composed.

It will be noted that these expedients for dealing with the problem of blight call for a great deal of planning. There cannot be too much good planning too soon. Is it not the part of wisdom to perfect our plans and secure popular adherence to them before making colossal investments which will freeze the pattern of urban living for generations? Will not gradual redevelopment at our natural pace, with such stimulation as may be provided by practical federal-aid policies in the postwar period, give us sounder and surer results than more revolutionary methods?

IS THE SHORT BALLOT PRINCIPLE OBSOLETE?

(Continued from Page 187)

trative practices without which efficient public service cannot long endure under any democratic government?

The problem of administration is becoming more important every year. And the problem of the voter is going to become even more perplexing after this war if any sort of world organization is created to enforce peace. Can we not restate the short ballot principle so as to make clear its relation to administration as that problem impinges on the mind of the voter?

Researcher's Digest: April

Des Moines turns to pictures; civic temperature in Kansas City; Minnesota and a vanishing tax; the governor and appropriations in Michigan; state aid for Indiana and Michigan schools.

A NEW recruit to the one-picture-is-worth-a-thousand-words school is the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines**, which also believes in a corollary axiom that one word capitalized or underlined is worth ten words in ordinary small type. *Iowa Cities Deserve More State Aid* is the pictorial, capitalized version of a scholarly study published earlier on the same subject. Intended for the information of state legislators, the booklet apparently represents the Bureau's realization that legislators, just like ordinary human beings, are more apt to swallow bitter messages if they are sugar-coated. Some of the cartoons used to emphasize Iowa cities' need for a better break in the distribution of tax moneys show: a high-hatted gent (the state) pulling the shirt away from a be-barrelled city; a steam roller passing over the flattened bodies of guess-who; a greedy cow being fed to repletion by some downtrodden farmhands; and, subtly, a judicial-appearing, kindly-seeming fellow listening intently to a man labelled "Iowa Cities and Towns" saying "Mr. Legislator, we're willing to rest the merits of our case in your good judgment."

Surrounding the cartoons are a dozen pages printed in black type and large capitals which set forth the facts on state aid in words of one or, maybe, two syllables.

Who said research needs to be dull?

Fair and Warmer

Because the **Kansas City Civic Research Institute** has decided that the public pulse, as well as the public pocketbook, merits a researcher's attention it has adopted the interesting

custom of taking periodic readings. *Notes on Public Affairs* No. 909 reports on a January public opinion poll taken by the National Opinion Research Center in coöperation with the Institute and designed to determine what had happened to Kansas Cityans' opinion of city, school, and county government since the first poll of July 1942. The citizenry were asked to rate the three administrations on a scale that ranged from "very good" to "very poor." The consensus was "good" for the city and schools, and only "fair" for the county. All three administrations, however, had risen in the public esteem since the first poll in July.

The Institute takes care to point out that this rise in temperature might be due only to the fact that the first poll was taken during a campaign period when mud is customarily slung; some of the increase in affection, however, might be due to a public recognition of governmental improvements. Most significant point of all is that the Institute plans later "barometer readings." Apparently a new tool has been added to the governmental researcher's kit!

Ghost

The little-man-who-wasn't-there of taxation has always been the "intangibles" which states are intermittently trying unsuccessfully to tax. Now comes the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research** with a grouchy *Factual Analysis of the Money and Credits Tax Problems in Minnesota*, a report which comments unfavorably upon that state's taxation of intangibles and expounds also upon experience in other states. The study enters

thoroughly into the provisions of the tax, the revenue it produces, the amount of evasion and the reasons for it, and concludes definitely in its disfavor. This is decidedly scientific ammunition for the antagonists of the taxation of intangibles.

Budgets

An exhaustive study of *The Role of the Governor in Michigan in the Enactment of Appropriations* leads John A. Perkins, of the University of Michigan Bureau of Government, to conclude that experience during the last several decades shows the steadily increasing power of the Governor over budgets—but that confusion of responsibility between the Governor and legislature makes scientific financial planning still a thing of the future. His recommendation is for a clear-cut executive type budget on the style of the British and along the now celebrated lines of C. A. Buck's proposals. This newly published book is a fully documented and realistic examination of appropriation history in Michigan and makes interesting reading regardless of the residence of the reader.

Aid for Education

Another new emanation from Michigan is *The Financing of Public Schools in Michigan* by E. Fenton Shepard and William B. Wood. This deals with the old and ever new questions of state aid, local versus state responsibility, and equalization of educational opportunity throughout the state. There is hardly a state but that these questions are being faced today and the Michigan contribution is, as ever, a fully supported, carefully written exploration of the subject.

Also concerned with the financing of education is *Indiana's Program of Relief to Common School Units*, by Edwin B. McPheron and Pressly S. Sikes, pub-

lished by the Bureau of Government Research of Indiana University. Here the attempt is to determine whether or not the forty-year-old state aid law has been successfully administered, rather than to examine the merits of the aid policy itself.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budgeting

The Role of the Governor in Michigan in the Enactment of Appropriations. By John A. Perkins. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1943. 197 pp.

Finance

Iowa Cities Deserve More State Aid. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, 1943. 16 pp.

Research

Third Biennial Report of the Illinois Legislative Council. Submitted to the Sixty-Third General Assembly. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1942. 48 pp.

Schools

Financing of Public Schools in Michigan. By E. Fenton Shepard and William B. Wood. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1942. 139 pp.

Indiana's Program of Relief to Common School Units. By Edwin B. McPheron and Pressly S. Sikes. Bureau of Government Research, Indiana University, 1943. 46 pp.

Taxation

A Factual Analysis of the Money and Credits Tax Problems in Minnesota. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1943. 24 pp.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

The Care of Children of Working Mothers

THE successful prosecution of the war depends in no small way upon the patriotic service of women who can help meet the needs of war industries. Maintaining high morale and continuity of work for many of these women will be directly related to the care available for their children.

Moreover, the future of the community depends upon the welfare of its children. It immediately becomes a community responsibility to see that resources are available to provide safe, healthful, and constructive care for these children in the same manner as it has provided public education, public health service, public sanitation, and police protection. Care for children of employed mothers does not necessarily involve establishing any new institutions or agencies; it does involve maximum use and often extension and expansion of types of care which have been provided for many years in a number of communities.

Services for Wartime Child Care

Information and counselling service. First of all, in families where mothers are working or are considering employment, parents should have some competent person to whom they can go for advice and help in planning for the care of their children. Information and counselling service should be available in the community in central or branch offices of the public employment service, schools, civilian defense information centers, or other agencies.

School services. By far the larger number of children whose mothers will

be engaged in wartime employment will be those now in school or old enough to attend kindergarten or nursery schools, which in most communities can be operated as part of the school systems.

Care for many of these children can be provided through extended school services which lengthen the period during which children may use the school, broaden the scope of school services, and provide care and supervision for a larger number of young children than usual.

Day-care centers. Another type of group care, usually operated independent of the schools, is that of a day-care center. The hours during which the center is open must be adapted to the hours of the mother's absence from home. Usually day-care centers are designed for children from two to fourteen years or older. They are particularly valuable for care of children in the same family but in different age groups.

Homemakers service. Some children do not adjust well in group activities; some have individual health or behavior problems that require special care. One way to provide this care is through supervised homemaker service to give children the continuing care and the security which their own homes afford, and to make it possible for them to maintain their usual habits of living. Family welfare, child welfare, and other qualified agencies, as well as schools, should provide training for homemakers. Welfare agencies in some instances also should provide necessary supervision

and direction of their work.

Foster family care. Day care of children in foster family homes will serve many needs which cannot be met by other forms of care. It is the most suitable and economical form of care for infants under two where mothers cannot provide suitable substitutes in their own homes. Foster-family day care may be used of course for children of all ages.

So far as possible foster-family homes should be developed by established social agencies in the community in order to assure careful selection and supervision of the homes and individualized services to the children, their parents, and the foster parents.

Services for special groups. In planning services for children of working mothers, children of high school age must not be overlooked. A program of group activities and the chance to develop news skills is essential and can be easily achieved through coöperation of group-work agencies and the schools.

Organization of Program

A committee for the care of children of working mothers should be part of the committee structure of the local defense council and be representative of local departments of education, health, labor and welfare, the Federal Works Agency, the United States Employment Service, local housing authority, private welfare agencies, employers, labor unions, community groups, and lay citizens. Use of the volunteer office of the defense council will provide the most rapid means of selecting volunteers with special interest and ability in working with children.

The test of a good over-all program rests in how well it serves the needs of the local situation. The committee will need to know: (1) the extent of the problem; (2) what facilities already exist to meet this need. When these

facts are known it is then the job of the committee to put the two together and see if local facilities are adequate.

Financing of new or expanded agencies is no small part of the committee's job. This can be done through private solicitation, appropriation by the community chest, or war chest, appropriation by local government, or by application for federal funds if local funds are insufficient.

State. In most states the State Defense Council has appointed a committee on the care of children of working mothers. The membership on this committee serves to bring together for the state as a whole the groups which have the factual information which leads to a definition of the problem, groups which can help develop the program, and those agencies which are legally responsible for the development and operation of the program. State departments of health and labor are prepared to furnish information and give advice in specific situations when called upon to do so by state and local committees. State departments of education and welfare have assigned or may be able to assign staff for planning, administrative, and consultative service to the state committee and to local communities requesting assistance in developing their programs. State defense councils have field staff personnel who can give valuable assistance to the local civilian defense councils in setting up representative local committees.

Federal. The United States Office of Civilian Defense Regional Office will provide communities with advice and counsel on the organization of committees on services for children of working mothers.

The Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services has set up a special division to coördinate activities and interests of the various federal agencies in this field and to provide techni-

cal advice on program content. Regional staffs of the Children's Bureau and the Office of Education have been assigned to work with states and localities in promoting programs.

Grants are available to state departments of education and welfare from the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services for the payment of salaries and travel expenses of personnel to furnish consultative and supervisory service on day-care programs.

Funds under the Lanham Act are available to communities for the construction, maintenance, and operation of nursery schools, extended school services, and day-care centers. Such funds are available through the Federal Works Agency upon certification by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services when communities cannot meet the need from their own resources.

One Community's Experience

The program for the care of children of working mothers in Dallas, Texas, has been handled jointly by the Day Care Committee of the Council of Social Agencies and the Services to Children Committee of the Civilian Defense Council.

Before planning a program, a survey was made in the schools to find out the number of children of working mothers and the manner in which they were being cared for.

A temporary Working Mothers' Information Center was opened in a downtown office, the rent being donated by the building management, and two workers of existing agencies were released part time for the Center. After two months the Center was moved to the headquarters of the Children's Bureau, where again the office space is free. Its administration has been in

charge of the executive secretary of the Children's Bureau, assisted by volunteers from the Civilian Defense Council. The Center furnishes advice and information on existing facilities for child care. In order to publicize the Center, placards were displayed in street cars and information furnished war industries. Personnel directors of industries were asked to have questionnaires filled out by women workers in order to locate children not being adequately cared for.

From the information obtained at the Working Mothers' Information Center, it was determined that the following facilities need to be expanded: day nurseries, housekeeper service, foster home care, and supervised before and after school recreation for school-age children.

To establish three new nurseries in the most vital sections of the city, the Community War Chest has allotted an additional \$14,000 to the Day Nursery Association.

The task of finding housekeepers has been undertaken by the YWCA. Due to the demand for workers in war industries, it has been particularly difficult to find women willing to take such positions. Recently it has been decided to make use of block organization to try to locate women, and plans are now being perfected to this end.

The Children's Bureau and the County Juvenile Department are making investigation of foster homes prior to the issuance of licenses by the State Department of Welfare.

The supervised play program has been undertaken by a special committee headed by the playground director of Dallas. The schools are coöperating by opening the buildings an hour earlier and making the grounds and buildings available after school.

Contributors in Review

STUDENT, teacher, author, and consultant on municipal affairs, **Thomas H. Reed** (*The Postwar City*) keeps both feet on the ground in prophesying the future of our American cities. In recent years, through his surveys of local government, Dr. Reed has done much to point the path to true civic efficiency. His books and articles are widely used as authoritative material in the governmental field. Dr. Reed's activities go farther than the American scene, however. He is translator of several biographies of the Belgian Leopolds and the recipient of the Officer Order of Leopold. (See also "Contributors in Review" in September 1942 REVIEW.)

APPOINTED chairman of Temple University's Committee on Postwar Planning in January of last year, **Merrill E. Bush** (*A People's Institute for Postwar Planning*) was actively engaged in the organization of the Institute of which he writes. Dr. Bush is a graduate of Dartmouth, with the Ph.D. degree from Cornell University. He began his work with Temple in 1934 when he became assistant director of the Oak Lane Country Day School, an experimental demonstration school under the auspices of the University. Two years later he became a member of the staff of the Division of Secondary Education in Temple's Teachers College where he is assistant professor of education and student advisor.

PIONEERING is a trait which **Paul Studenski** (*Liquor Control: Success or Failure?*) developed fairly early in life. In 1910 he was a pioneer in the comparatively new field of aviation—a licensed pilot of the Aero Club of France. In more recent years he has devoted himself to pioneer thinking in the solution of such problems as liquor control, metropolitan areas, taxation, housing, social security, etc., and is author of numerous books, pamphlets, and articles on these subjects. He has acted as consultant for many governmental agencies and other groups. Since 1927 Dr. Studenski has been with New York University, where he is professor of economics.

ONE OF the strongest proponents of the vital necessity of teaching citizenship in schools and colleges is **O. Garfield Jones** (*Is the Short Ballot Principle Obsolete?*). Professor Jones's courses at Toledo University—which all students of the University must attend—are well known throughout the academic world for their thoroughness and practicality. Before and during the last World War Dr. Jones had a varied career in the Philippines where he taught, acted as research clerk in the Manila Bureau of Education, and was officer in charge of the Third Provisional Battalion, Coast Defense of Manila in 1918-19. He has written numerous articles and books on citizenship as well as on the Philippines.

FROM councilman to mayor to city manager is the civic career of **J. A. Raffield** (*Thirty Years of Manager Government*). Mr. Raffield is manager of Sumter, South Carolina, where the manager plan has been in effect since 1912. He has always taken an active part in the affairs of his city and has recently identified himself with its Civilian Defense program, graduating from the War Department's Civilian Protection School at the University of Florida.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

State and Local Progress in Civil Service

Federal civil service endangered by Senate

WHILE the McKellar bill, to require Senate confirmation of all executive appointments to positions with salaries over \$4,500 per annum in the federal civil service, still threatens to become law, various state legislatures have been considering measures to strengthen and extend the merit system, and a number of localities show civil service progress.

The McKellar bill, considerably amended, was favorably reported on by a subcommittee last month, with prospects of adoption by one or both houses unless public opposition to such interference in administrative appointments makes itself strongly felt.

The proposed state legislation provides as follows, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada:

Arkansas: gradual application of the merit system to the state service between January 1, 1944, and the end of 1946. Qualifying examinations would be given for each group beginning with institutional employees.

Arizona: placing state, county, and city peace officers under civil service regulations.

Delaware: five merit system bills.

Missouri: provision for a personnel advisory board and a personnel director who would be a state resident appointed by the Governor from the three top candidates selected by the board following an examination. The bill provides for classification and pay

plans and qualifying examination for incumbents.

Nebraska: a unified merit system for all state civil service employees and those under the present Merit System Council. The system would be administered by a council of five members, to be appointed by the Governor with legislative approval, which would have authority to appoint a personnel director.

Oregon: a statewide civil service bill sponsored jointly by the State League of Women Voters, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the Portland Grade Teachers' Association. This has been defeated in the lower house, 34 to 24.

Washington: a statewide merit system proposal which, like that for Oregon, generally follows the draft of a state civil service law of the National Civil Service Reform League and the National Municipal League. This was killed in committee, however.

West Virginia: a bill for a merit system for state employees.

Progress in local civil service includes the adoption of the merit system by Hazel Park, Michigan, under the direction of the city manager, and by Fresno County, California, following the pattern of other California county merit systems. In Wichita, Kansas, the merit system is to be administered on the basis of a personnel manual prepared by the city manager in co-operation with other city officials. A personnel advisory board and an employees' council are provided. The latter is made up of representatives of the employees in the several divisions of the city service; it chooses one of its members to serve a one-year term on the personnel advisory board, the remaining four members of which are appointed for four-year terms by the city commission, the city manager, the

park board, and the library board, respectively.

By recent amendment of the Louisiana civil service law paid positions in the police and fire departments in cities of 13,000 to 100,000 population are to be under the merit system. Five of the eight cities in this class have already established police and fire civil service commissions. The State Civil Service Department acts in an advisory capacity to the local commission and on request assists with the preparation, administration, and scoring of written tests.

Civil Service Changes Urged in New York State

The chief recommendation of the Hollowell legislative committee, which has been investigating the civil service system in New York State for more than a year and issued a report on March 6, is separation of the administrative and policy-making functions of the Civil Service Commission. The report urges that the Commission confine itself to determination of policies, handling of appeals, and the making of rules and regulations, while responsibility for administration should be placed in a single executive with authority over all personnel functions of the state.

Revision of the civil service law was called for, with thorough revamping of civil service rules at the same time, so that some matters could be stated in the law and others could be covered by rules that could be changed at the Commission's discretion. A clear-cut distinction between competitive and non-competitive classifications was recommended.

The Commission was criticized for delays in holding examinations and establishing eligible lists, and for emphasis on precautions rather than on "an aggressive businesslike policy of

service." The latter criticism was directed more to the legal background of civil service, tending to preoccupation with the dangers of spoils politics, whereas the chief present need was stated to be the job of furnishing qualified employees to the operating departments.

The report, signed by both Republicans and Democrats without dissent, did not urge action at the current session of the legislature, but at the subsequent session.

Minnesota Releases State Employees for War Work

Reductions in the number of male civil service employees of the state of Minnesota so as to make more men available for war industries have been brought about by liberalizing policies on leaves of absence without pay and by not filling vacancies unless it is absolutely necessary, and then only with women and handicapped men so far as possible. Men are hired to fill vacancies only with the specific approval of the director of civil service. A goal of 20 per cent reduction was set by Governor Stassen, and most departments have achieved or are approaching it, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

The Governor has established the Minnesota Emergency Manpower Commission, which has been working closely with the state Department of Civil Service. A "position survey" has been made to determine which jobs might be consolidated, left vacant, or filled by women or handicapped men.

The manpower agency has recommended to the Minnesota legislature that it change the state civil service law so leaves may be granted for the period of the war instead of for one year as at present. To facilitate the release of workers to war industries, all

male employees have completed self-registration forms for the United States Employment Service, which refers employees with essential skills to industries that need them.

Missouri Chooses Constitutional Convention Delegates

The eighty-three delegates to Missouri's constitutional convention will be formally chosen at an election on April 6. For sixty-eight of this number the election will be little more than a formality as these will consist of two delegates from each of the thirty-four senatorial districts, one Republican and one Democrat, all nominated on a strictly partisan basis by the party organization. Their nomination is tantamount to election.

The fifteen to be elected at large will be the public's only hope against complete politicalization of the convention, but the parties have sought to nullify this hope by agreeing jointly on seven from each party plus one described as an "anti-New Deal Democrat." The League of Women Voters, in an effort to modify the completely political situation, has endorsed its own slate of fifteen candidates for delegates at large.

Minnesota May Have First Integrated State Court System

A plan for unification and modernization of Minnesota courts, worked out by a committee of the Minnesota Judicial Council, is to be presented to the district bar associations of that state and then to civic and other lay organizations to enlist general public support. The committee, composed of twenty-two men headed by Supreme Court Justice Charles Loring, developed the plan between August 1941 and November 1942. According to the *Journal of the American Judicature Society* for February 1943, the new judiciary article it proposed for the state

constitution "combines the best of the profession's thinking and experience on virtually all phases of the structure and work of the courts." The plan creates a unified state court, with the Supreme Court, district courts, and county courts as divisions, of the type outlined in the early bulletins of that Society, in the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution*, and in the writings of legal authorities.

The *Journal* comments on the weight of prejudice and inertia that must be overcome to achieve so basic a reform, which so far has prevented the establishment of a completely unified court system by any state. Far-reaching efforts have been made in Maryland and New Jersey, where reports of special commissions have recently been published, but tradition has been so powerful that "their work has necessarily been that of skillfully cramming as much as possible of the new into a structure that will sacrifice none of the virtues of the old and look as much like it as possible."

Legislative Reapportionment Advances in New York

Redistricting of the State of New York for legislative elections, which has not been done for a quarter-century, became an accomplished fact on March 15, when a reapportionment bill, endorsed by Governor Dewey, was passed by the legislature. It will take effect in the 1944 elections.

The representation of New York City will be increased from sixty-two to sixty-seven assemblymen and from twenty-two and a half to twenty-five senators; nevertheless, because of constitutional restrictions and the method of apportionment the metropolis will have only 44.6 per cent of the membership in the Assembly and in the Senate, although it has 54.5 per cent of the total population of the

state, and 53.4 per cent of citizen population (the primary basis of apportionment).

Constitutionality of the act is questioned because it increases the Senate membership from fifty-one to fifty-six, thus preventing losses of seats in up-state districts, whereas the contention is made that the constitution permits an increase only to fifty-two.

State Legislatures Grapple with War-Made Problems

Measures adopted by the forty-two state legislatures in the first two months of 1943 include those which grant broad war powers to governors, cut taxes in view of heavy federal levies or apply new taxes to meet increased costs, attempt to solve manpower shortages, authorize postwar reconstruction planning, and protect rights of men and women in war service or grant them various exemptions, according to a compilation of the Council of State Governments.

Governors of three states—California, Connecticut, and Vermont—were granted broad war powers by their legislatures and similar action is under consideration in a dozen other states. During a crisis the governors may issue orders, regulations, and rules having the effect of law—powers similar to those given chief executives of nine other states, mostly eastern, last year and in 1941. Such authority covers emergency health and welfare requirements, air raid precautions, blackouts, traffic control, and various other state wartime activities and responsibilities.

Four states—Iowa, New York, West Virginia, and Wisconsin—have taken definite steps to alleviate wartime tax burdens of their citizens by reducing various levies. On the other hand, Delaware, Idaho, Arizona, and Iowa enacted measures to bring in additional revenues.

Increasing emphasis on developing programs to meet postwar reconstruction and development problems, and especially to establish reserve funds to pay for such programs, is shown in laws adopted in Michigan, North Carolina, Montana, Illinois, Arkansas, and Maryland.

Laws protecting civilian rights of men and women in the armed services, or granting them various exemptions, were adopted in a number of states, including Arkansas, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada and Wisconsin. Many states, to provide new manpower sources, have enacted "emergency" measures making it possible for older children, women, and retired workers to lighten the labor shortage.

Outstanding Legislation in Tennessee

The Tennessee General Assembly, meeting for the first time since Pearl Harbor, adjourned on February 11 after being in session only thirty-nine days—the shortest regular session in Tennessee history. The thirty-nine-day session saw the introduction of 978 bills in the House (almost ten per member) and 834 in the Senate. Of the 629 laws passed, 471 or approximately three-fourths were "private acts" dealing with individual counties and cities. Of the 158 general laws enacted, ninety-eight were approved on the last two days of the session.¹

Poll Tax Repealed

The most outstanding legislation enacted was repeal of the poll tax. For more than fifty years the voters of Tennessee have been required to pay a poll tax as a condition to exercising their voting privilege. This has greatly reduced the proportion of voters participating in elections. For exam-

¹For legislation affecting counties see p. 213.

ple, in the presidential election of 1888, prior to the levying of a poll tax in Tennessee, 90 per cent of the adult male population participated. By 1940 the ratio had fallen to 28 per cent. This includes both white and colored.²

Permanent Registration

As a part of the poll tax repeal legislation, the General Assembly passed a measure providing for a system of permanent registration. At the first registration each voter is to appear in person and give such information as may be required including name, age, color, address, occupation, and length of residence in the state, county, city, and district or ward. A certificate of registration will be issued to each registrant and "shall be permanent and entitle such voter to vote in any and all elections thereafter held, unless such voter shall change his place of residence or shall fail to vote in any general or special election for a period of four years." Supplemental registrations are to be held for designated periods before each election for the purpose of registering voters who have not previously registered and of reregistering those who have changed their address or have failed to vote for four years. Special provision is made in the act for the registration of persons in the armed forces and other persons who because of trade or occupation are compelled to be absent during regular periods of registration. Apparently voters will be required to present certificates of registration before being allowed to cast their ballots. Certificates that have become soiled or worn may be replaced, and duplicate certificates may be issued where the original certificates have been lost.

During debate on the poll tax repeal

and registration bills, the question of their constitutionality was raised. The Governor has indicated that a Supreme Court hearing will be sought at an early date to determine their constitutionality before the general registration in August.

National Defense

Other legislation passed deals with national defense and related matters. One measure empowers the Governor and the state director of civilian defense to make rules and regulations relating to statewide blackouts, and to set up penalties for failure to comply with such regulations. Companion measures authorize counties and cities to levy taxes and to make appropriations for civilian defense purposes, and to mobilize volunteer firemen. Another authorizes the Governor to use the state guard to protect transportation and utility properties whether publicly or privately owned.

Counties and cities may invest local funds in war bonds under legislation just enacted, and another act provides for the filling of temporary vacancies in state and local offices resulting from the induction of public officials into the military service.

Health and Welfare

The maximum benefit payments that may be made to recipients of aid to dependent children, old age assistance, and aid to the needy blind have been increased. The program of aid to dependent children is also expanded to include visually handicapped children. A Division of Services of the Blind has been set up in the Department of Public Welfare and all activities in the interest of the blind, formerly exercised by the Commission for the Blind and other state agencies, are transferred to the newly created division. Finally, a state bond issue of

²Virginius Dabney, "The Poll Tax Stirs Revolt," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1942, p. 489.

\$1,500,000 is authorized for the building of a tuberculosis hospital.

Courts, Housing, Utilities

A state judicial council is authorized to study and make recommendations concerning the state's judicial system, and an act authorizing the creation of rural housing authorities was enacted. Another bill reduces the power of the State Railroad and Public Utilities Commission. Control over rates, operating methods, routes, types of vehicles, and franchises of transit systems is taken away from the Commission and given "the governing bodies of the respective municipalities."

Several local acts relating to utilities were enacted. Memphis was authorized to acquire its street transportation system and to issue \$5,000,000 in bonds for this purpose, and \$4,000,000 additional in bonds to acquire an existing generator plant or construct a power plant. Utility commissions were established in three cities.

In Lenoir City four members appointed by the city council for two-year terms together with the mayor constitute the Water and Light Commission which is invested with the management, control, and operation of the city's water and light system. The water and light system of Harriman is placed under the jurisdiction of a utility board of five members, one of whom shall be a member of the city council and appointed by that body to serve for the term of his elective office. The other four members are named in the act and are to serve one, two, three, and four years, respectively. Upon the expiration of their terms a successor is selected by the remaining members, except that the legislative representative shall not have a vote in such proceedings.

The Board of Public Utilities of LaFollette is composed of three members

selected for six-year overlapping terms. The first members of the board are to be appointed by the governing body of the city, thereafter the successor is named by the remaining members of the board and submitted to the governing body for approval or rejection.

The Assembly did not adjourn without the passage of so-called "ripper" legislation. For example, a new charter was imposed upon Nashville, the state capital. This charter, which makes radical changes in the city's governmental structure, was not passed upon by the electorate nor were public hearings held. The number of councilmen has been reduced from twenty-seven to nine. The mayor loses much of his executive authority. He, together with the commissioner of fire and public works, and the commissioner of water, health, and welfare, constitute a board of administration and have nearly equal executive powers.

A ripper bill to repeal the city manager form of government in Knoxville and to create a commission form of government failed of passage.

M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

Elections Occur on Many Dates

State and local governments hold elections in 1943 on at least sixty-six different days, and in 1942 held them on ninety-nine different days, according to a survey of the Bureau of the Census, reported in its *Elections Calendar, 1943 and 1942* under date of February 28. The report covered the forty-eight states, 2,226 counties that replied to inquiries sent to 3,058 counties, and 371 municipalities out of 409 having populations over 25,000.

A total of 4,140 elections were held in 1942 for state, county, and city officials, as shown by the information received, 2,080 being primary, and 2,060

general elections. August, with 671, was the principal month for primary elections, and November, with 1,888, the leading one for general elections.

It is indicated from the information available that 386 primary elections will be held in 1943, September being the high month; and 665 general elections, chiefly in November with 349 and in April with 249.

Obtaining Material for State and Local Governments

A conference committee of the United States Conference of Mayors has requested of the War Production Board that the Governmental Division of the WPB be made the "claimant agency" to present, support, and justify its estimates of governmental requirements before the Requirements Committee of the government's Controlled Materials Plan, which takes effect April 1 in connection with production for both military and civilian needs. At present the Governmental Division informs the Office of Civilian Supply of its needs, which are then added to those of industry and other civilian uses for submission in total to the Requirements Committee. As the Governmental Division, rather than the Office of Civilian Supply, has responsibility for keeping governmental functions in operation, it is felt that the Governmental Division should represent local and state governments as a claimant agency before CMP officials.

Council-Manager Plan News

Three city managers have completed twenty-five years of service. On March 18 Henry Traxler, manager at Janesville, Wisconsin, rounded out a quarter-century, twenty years at his present post and the previous five years as manager of Clarinda, Iowa. The other two are H. L. Woolhiser of Winnetka,

Illinois, and George Johnston of Cadillac, Michigan, who were appointed to their present positions in 1917 and 1918, respectively, and have not been managers elsewhere.

Three more cities have been added to the official list of council-manager cities of the International City Manager's Association: **North Muskegon, Michigan**, which adopted a manager ordinance in 1939 but did not appoint a manager until later; the borough of **Springdale, Pennsylvania**, which adopted a manager ordinance last July and has appointed a manager; and **New Boston, Texas**, which adopted an ordinance in November and now has a manager.

The city council of **Thomasville, Georgia**, on January 25 voted to have a bill introduced in the state legislature calling for a referendum on the manager plan based on a bill proposed some years ago. The new Mayor, W. J. Powell, supports the movement.

In **Washington** a state act authorizing cities of less than 20,000 population to establish council-manager government was signed by Governor Langlie March 22.

A bill in the **Pennsylvania** House of Representatives, sponsored by Walter E. Rose, Republican house whip, would permit the voters of any of the forty-six third-class cities (including all but the three largest cities of the state) to adopt the council-manager plan if submitted by the council or by petition of 2 per cent of the electorate.

At a banquet meeting of the **Easton (Maryland)** Business Men's Association on February 24, the manager plan was described by L. D. Shank, city manager of Dover, Delaware.

Sheffield, Alabama, retained its present form of government by three commissioners, as against the alternative of a council-manager plan, by a vote of 440 to 191 on February 23.

A bill providing for the appointment of a city manager of **Las Vegas, Nevada**, has been submitted by the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce to the Clark County delegation in the Nevada legislature for introduction.

The board of directors of the Citizens Union of **Long Beach, New York**, on February 25 adopted a resolution to launch a campaign for the manager plan with proportional representation.¹

Resigning as mayor of **Olean, New York**, W. D. Dugan outlined five recommendations for the future, including a suggestion that a general manager, responsible to the mayor and council, be appointed.

Philadelphia Adopts New City Planning Commission Law

After consideration of a new city planning ordinance for eight months, since April 1942, the Philadelphia City Council adopted it, with amendments. The new commission has nine members appointed by the mayor, four city officials and five citizen members, with overlapping terms of five years. Besides advising on the usual city planning matters the commission is to prepare each year a six-year capital budget. A staff, under the merit system, is provided for.

AMA Creates Postwar Planning Committee

In order to stimulate a program of action on the part of cities for meeting war-created problems that will loom large with the coming of peace, the American Municipal Association has established a committee on postwar planning, headed by Mayor Wilson W. Wyatt of Louisville, and including Mayor Charles E. Lee of Decatur, Herbert Olson, director of the Michigan Municipal League, and Earl D. Mallery, executive director of AMA.

¹See also p. 214.

Alabama Local Governments Issue Journal

The Alabama League of Municipalities and the Association of County Commissioners of Alabama have established the *Alabama Government Journal*; the first issue was in February.

Housing Associations Ask More War Workers' Homes

In view of acute housing shortages in war production communities, the National Committee of Housing Associations on March 2 sent to President Roosevelt and various federal agencies a proposal embodying the following recommendations:

1. Establishment of war housing centers under the National Housing Agency to assure adequate housing of workers in all war production communities where housing conditions are critical;
2. Certification of applicants for war housing by the War Manpower Commission to local war housing centers;
3. Advisory boards within local war housing centers of local representatives of the National Housing Agency, the War Manpower Commission, the War Production Board, and the Office of Price Administration;
4. Compulsory registration with war housing centers of all vacant dwellings or other structures capable of conversion;
5. Power by executive order of the President for the National Housing Agency to lease vacant buildings;
6. A program for utilizing excess space in occupied dwellings in war congested areas.

Congress Given Broad Plans for Social Advance

Two far-reaching reports of the Na-

tional Resources Planning Board, denied funds for its continuance by Congress, were submitted to that body on March 10 by President Roosevelt. One was entitled *National Resources Development—Report for 1943*, giving a record of the wartime planning activities of this advisory and fact-finding board, and setting forth the results of its work on postwar plans for full development of the nation's human and material resources. The other was the report on *Security, Work and Relief Policies*, developed during the last three years at the President's request by the Board with the coöperation of federal agencies concerned and of citizens with special competence in that field.

The reports met both with warm approval and violent criticism in the House and Senate. The latter body proceeded to set up a postwar planning committee of nine members, proposed by Senator George who, as chairman, stated that the immediate assembling of a staff and initiation of investigations was contemplated. He expressed his belief that governmental participation in postwar rehabilitation should be kept at a minimum. Senator Vandenburg, a member of the committee, gave his opinion that one of the principal tasks of the committee should be an investigation of the Board of Economic Warfare.

President Roosevelt indicated that the burden of planning now the means for protecting the country against unemployment and other postwar disruptions lay in the hands of Congress.

To what extent the new committee will utilize the work of the expert staff of the NRPB, and its broad and intimate acquaintance with problems of present and future national needs, resources, and possible development, remains to be seen.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Oregon Lawmakers Analyze Legislature

Find it holds own in public favor but needs changes

WHEN a research committee of the **Portland City Club** wanted to find out how well the Oregon State legislature functioned it shot questions directly at state legislators themselves with interesting results.¹

In June 1942 the committee began a study of the work of the Oregon legislature "with particular reference to its efficiency and responsibility." It did a large amount of research but decided that before making a formal report it ought to ask the legislators what they thought; so it sent a list of thirty questions on a wide variety of issues to 193 legislators who have served in the Senate or House within the past ten years. Seventy-one replies were received, twenty-two from Portland, forty-nine from outside the city, and at least one from every county in the state. Both Republicans and Democrats replied.

The legislators were outspoken both in praise and criticism of Oregon's legislative practices. For example, they opposed annual and preferred biennial sessions; they were against a one-house legislature and nonpartisan election of lawmakers. They thought the legislature was about holding its own in popular esteem and favored a state planning commission.

Here are the votes on these and some of the additional questions asked by the City Club, along with comments

¹*Portland City Club Bulletin*, February 26, 1943.

by the legislators themselves:

Do you think that the average legislator has sufficient time to give adequate attention to legislation during the ordinary session, so that he can vote intelligently on matters that come before him?

Yes, 20. No, 48.

Comments:

"Give the average legislator all the time in the world and he couldn't vote intelligently on 50 per cent of the matters. We need a higher type of legislator."

"If members would only introduce such measures as are of actual merit, and not merely for home consumption, it would reduce the number of bills by more than 50 per cent."

"The task will exhaust the most honest and zealous member."

Do you think that the legislative business of the state could be more satisfactorily handled if there were an annual, rather than a biennial session of the legislature?

Yes, 13. No, 52.

Comments:

"For God's sake, NO! Better if legislature met every five or ten years. . . . the state and the people would be better off. We don't need constant legislation."

"The machinery of state government has to be overhauled every so often to correct wear and bring it up to date, but legislative sessions are disturbing and open the door to all kinds of screwball innovations. Every two years is often enough."

"Conditions change too rapidly to leave affairs of the state for two years without legislative attention."

Would you favor legislation regulating lobbying, i.e., requiring all lobbyists to register and reveal the

identity of the individuals or group for which they are working?

Yes, 52. No, 17.

Comments:

"The lobby is a valuable means of obtaining information on legislation, and should not be discouraged."

"Lobbyist OK . . . but should be labelled. Best lobbyists work frankly and in the open."

"Certainly not. Such identities are generally obvious, like distinguishing a cow from a bull."

"I think no really legitimate lobbyist would object to this."

Have you had occasion to make use of the legislative reference service of the State Library?

Yes, 42. No, 25.

Comments:

"Yes. A courteous service."

"The greatest service I had . . . the finest service in Salem."

"No. In other lines, however, I have found the said library to be quite efficient and helpful."

Do you think that efficiency and responsibility in legislation would be better served by a one-house legislature for Oregon?

Yes, 16. No, 51.

Comments:

"Hell, No!"

"Yes, the responsibility of all legislation could then be better followed by all the people in the state."

"I rather cling to the old American system of checking the House against the Senate, and vice versa."

Do you think the legislature should be chosen on a nonpartisan basis?

Yes, 18. No, 51.

Comments:

"This would destroy the responsibility

so badly needed in all governmental matters."

"Judges who execute the laws run on a nonpartisan ticket . . . why not the same for those who make the laws?"

Do you think legislators should be paid by the year (or session) rather than on a per diem basis for a given number of days?

Yes, 39. No, 26.

Comments:

"The work actually is and should be a year-round job, rather than a couple of months' work."

"Payment by the session would tend to cause the legislature to take whatever time is necessary for orderly completion of work."

"The per diem now is sufficient . . . fifty days is enough time."

Do you think there is a tendency for the Oregon legislature to "pass the buck," from time to time, in referring legislative measures to the people for a referendum vote?

Yes, 45. No, 24.

Comments:

"As a matter of fact the opposite is true."

"An often-used subterfuge."

"Who doesn't from time to time? Legislators are human . . . I think."

Do you think that a state commission, composed of experts, and under the guidance of the legislature and the administration, could perform a useful service for Oregon in such matters as (a) studying our resources and planning their effective development; (b) making surveys of state-wide problems, as, for example, our taxation system, our school system, industrial development, and problems of post-war employment; (c) coöordinating

our state developmental activities with those of other states and the federal government; and (d) making recommendations for legislation?

Yes, 41. No, 24.

Comments:

"Could make studies and be O.K. Know of no reason why it should be under control of the legislature or administration. Studying resources, problems, etc., always good for citizens."

"Yes, provided their skill has been developed within the immediate vicinity, and not along 'The Sidewalks of New York.'"

"More jobs, more taxes. The federal government has taken all the professors of sociology and economics and put them to work at that very thing, and what a mess we are in!"

Do you think the prestige of the Oregon legislature in popular esteem:

(a) is on the decline? Yes, 12.

(b) is rising? Yes, 12.

(c) is about the same as it has been for a long time? Yes, 45.

Comments:

"It's in and out . . . too many lawyers in the past have put it in a rut . . . they have too many retainers to look out for."

"I believe it is rising slightly by reason of the fact that there is less of 'bosses' and graft."

Do you think a constitutional convention for Oregon, shortly after the close of hostilities, should be held to revise our constitutional system, and bring state government up to date?

Yes, 33. No, 20.

Comments:

"Owing to the initiative our state constitution is getting clear out of line and needs simplification."

"In many respects our state constitution has grown into a hodge-podge."

"Such a convention would be symptomatic of the morbidity of popular government. If we really need it we will have reached the stage where it won't do us any good. Wasn't the Code of Justinian compiled at about the time that the Roman legal system collapsed?"

Round-up—

Another evidence of the rebirth of the neighborhood, so often commented upon these days. . . . The **Citizens Union of Darien, Connecticut**, has undertaken a program of neighborhood meetings as a substitute for central meetings to overcome the difficulties created by gas rationing. A letter has been sent to all members asking which ones would be willing to hold a series of three monthly meetings in their homes. Also contained in the letter were suggested subjects for the meetings—local town government, the school system, and postwar problems and plans—and an agenda for an opening session on local government. Each person holding such a meeting is asked to prepare a brief summary, which will then be circulated by the Union to all the members of the organization.

The **American Library Association** has devoted an issue of its *Bulletin* to a useful compilation of the war programs of important national citizen organizations. Some of these have already been discussed in these columns, but this statement should be useful for reference purposes. It will undoubtedly offer suggestions to local groups looking for activities to undertake as their part in the war effort.

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** has recently published in attractive format two studies of the state's finances: *Growth of State Rev-*

enues and Growth of State Expenditures, 1930-1942. In addition to clear texts, there are a number of tables including revenues by sources, federal grants, and expenditures from current revenues, federal funds, and bonds.

In line with its accustomed policy of providing as much useful information as possible for the taxpayer, the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** has issued its 1943 edition of *Taxes*, a booklet of questions and answers on state and federal taxes in the state. Included is up-to-date information on income taxes as well as a description of all the kinds of taxes to which a resident of Wisconsin may be subject.

On February 19 the **California Taxpayers' Association** held its seventeenth annual meeting in Los Angeles. More than six hundred persons attended the gathering which was addressed by Governor Earl Warren and others. Prior to that, on January 15, the Governor had announced the appointment of a **Citizens' Tax Committee** of fifteen members, to assist the legislature and the Governor "to gear the fiscal system of the state to the exigencies of war."

R. M. W.

Montgomery County, Maryland, Works Toward New Charter

Montgomery County, Maryland, adjoining the District of Columbia, is both rural and urban. The county's urban residential section adjacent to the District has grown rapidly during the past ten years as the federal government has increased its personnel. But beyond Rockville, the county seat, there are fertile farms making the northern end of the county purely rural. As the county's population has grown there has come greater need for a reduction in partisan politics, for efficient executive direction, simplification of governmental structure, promotion of economy, removal of friction between

sections, and modernization of the suburban area..

These needs were stated in a report on the county's government by the Committee on Legislation and Legal Action of the **Montgomery County Civic Federation** in February 1938. Washington papers have referred to this organization as the "powerful civic federation." It deserves the name because it is representative of the many local civic associations in the county.

The report was printed and circulated among the federation's delegates, and made the special order of business for the March 1938 meeting. Its study resulted in adoption of the following resolution at the April meeting:

1. That the Federation urges the Board of County Commissioners promptly to engage a suitable group to make, at county expense, a study of our county government under the conditions herein set forth;

2. That the Federation invites the coöperation of all groups, political and non-political, in the initiation and completion of such a study.

As a result, letters were sent to all organizations urging them to be present at a hearing before the County Commissioners at which time reasons for a scientific study of the county government would be presented. A large number of leaders from the Civic Federation, League of Women Voters, Women's Clubs, etc., attended the hearing in October.

During the same month the County Commissioners appropriated \$5,000 for a survey of the county government by a corps of experts resident outside of Maryland. This decision was not final, however. It was only after a real battle which dragged the question of a county study into the political arena of the November election that the board voted to have Brookings Institution make the study.

The Brookings Institution received

\$5,000 from the county and expended an additional \$30,000 of its own money, taking three years to make one of the most comprehensive surveys of county government ever made in the United States. The extent of its criticism is shown by the flat statement in its report, "Montgomery County has outgrown its form of government."

The Brookings report stirred interest in all civic-minded organizations and individuals. Groups were organized to study it. The County Commissioners' committee appointed to study the report accepted parts of it but rejected, as not advisable or feasible, the section recommending a complete change in the form of government—the charter form, as provided by the state constitution in Article XI-A.

When a petition for a charter form of government bears the signatures of either 20 per cent or 10,000 of a county's registered voters, the Board of Election Supervisors must arrange for the voters of that county to elect a Charter Board of five members at the next general election. If such a board is elected its members must within six months prepare a charter for publication. That charter shall be presented to the voters at the following general or Congressional election and, if adopted, becomes effective thirty days thereafter. The County Commissioners may nominate candidates for the Board. Candidates may also be nominated by a petition of 5 per cent of the registered voters. Candidates are placed on the ballot with no party affiliation.

When public opinion and interest is aroused it is necessary to have the many interests and varied opinions solidified into one objective, and organized effort must be placed behind this objective.

Montgomery County had a small group of men, headed by Allen H. Gardner, who had a clear vision of the need

for reform and a dominant will to accomplish the task. Leaders in the Montgomery Civic Federation, they had followed the movement for reform and saw the need for organizing all interested groups for a charter campaign.

With this as the task ahead during the winter and spring of 1942, they interested leading citizens in becoming members of a Charter Committee, which was organized in June with eighteen outstanding men and women of both political parties elected to serve as a Board of Directors. The Board included the presidents of the Ministerial Union, the League of Women Voters, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and a Board of Trade, as well as leading Civic Federation men, well known constitutional lawyers, chairman of the Municipal League of the county, a well known farmer, a leading real estate man, and a popular business man.

The Board of Directors appointed its officers, agreed to employ an executive director, rent an office, and select necessary committee chairmen, following in general the Cincinnati plan of organization. Its publicity committee looked like a "Who's Who" in journalism.

It was the first of July that the job of organizing the county's thirteen election districts to circulate the petition and get a majority of votes for the creation of a charter board was started. The heat of the summer months was not to be compared with the heat of the opposition set up by the well oiled Democratic machine. In its county congress it voted to oppose the charter movement and proceeded to carry out a vehement campaign against the petition.

But in spite of opposition, by September 1 the petition was ready for filing with nearly one thousand more names than were necessary. The field division set up by the Charter Committee had seven members on its ex-

ecutive committee each responsible for a certain number of precincts. Precinct chairmen organized their precincts in some cases by sections and in others by streets and blocks. Because of a lack of local leadership there were some few districts not organized. All workers were provided with a worker's manual and cards of registered voters to be canvassed.

With the filing of the petition for the election of a charter board and a petition placing candidates recommended by the Charter Committee on the ballot the political campaign was begun in earnest by the so-called amateur politicians.

For the first time federal government employees living in the county could take active part in a local political contest, and they wanted a charter. Members of the League of Women Voters were untiring in their efforts, as were the church people—a minister was chairman of a precinct. Members of women's clubs assumed responsibility in precincts. Leaders in the Civic Federation were given support by most of the local civic associations.

Five methods of approach to the public were used. The civic associations sponsored debates between a member picked by the speakers' committee of the Charter Committee and a person appointed by the Democratic organization. Letters and literature were mailed to all registered voters. Good publicity, planned by the publicity committee, was given by the local press, and leading papers in Washington published excellent editorials. Radio addresses were made from local stations. There is no question, however, that the most important contact made with the public was the personal one by workers in the field division. They were men and women of outstanding reputation in every community: doctors, lawyers,

school teachers, housewives, businessmen, farmers, government employees, and the average man in the neighborhood who is interested in good government.

The Charter Committee required its workers not to take active part in any other political contest to be settled in the November election.

The Independent party, composed of Republicans and Democrats opposed to the Democratic organization, voted to give support to the charter movement and worked for it actively.

Election Day was an exciting one. The Charter Committee had workers at all the polls. Some listed the names of those who voted, while others phoned to those who had not shown up. Another group stood out front and handed out marked sample ballots. Election returns showed a majority vote for a Charter Board, and all candidates recommended by the Charter Committee elected.

The Charter Board is not accepting pay or funds for operation from any source, and its members are working untiringly to ascertain the wishes of the people as a guide to their work. At present the public appears to want the council manager plan.

The Charter Committee, which now has eight hundred members, is not sponsoring any specific recommendations for the charter but will work for its adoption when it is finished, without personal interest or desire for personal gain.

If the charter has no provisions which conflict with the constitution and appears to offer a nonpartisan, efficient government, there is a reasonable chance that, at the election in 1944, a majority vote will be cast for it.

STELLA B. WERNER
Montgomery County, Maryland

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Georgia City Manager Outlines City Debt History

Urge city to save now for postwar improvements.

UNDER the title *Booms and Bonds—Wars and Depressions*, a history of the bond issues of the city of Columbus, Georgia, has recently been prepared by City Manager Marshall Morton. It provides an interesting and thought-provoking story of how one city has reached the conclusion that many of its public improvements have been dearly bought.

Columbus' first bonds were issued in the late 1840's, according to Mr. Morton, when the booming little town had attained a population of about 5,500—including 2,000 slaves. By 1852 about \$500,000 railroad bonds had been marketed. The bonds had been issued by the city to the railroad promoters in exchange for stock, and for some years interest requirements and the early maturities were met by the sale of the stock and of city river front and other property.

Following the Civil War the impoverished community was still faced with about \$450,000 of the bonds. None was ever repudiated—as were many railroad aid bonds during the period—but as the bonds matured they were refunded with 30-year serials. The last maturity, \$250,000, was refunded in 1939, with the refunding bonds not finally due until 1969, or about 125 years after the debt was originally incurred. Rates on the original issues had been 7 per cent, and the refunding bonds, of which

\$339,500 are still outstanding, are mostly 3's.

In 1888 Georgia imposed a debt limit on its cities, restricting them to 7 per cent of their assessed valuation, and for years thereafter the limitation precluded the sale of additional bonds. In fact, it was not until 1904 that the city again borrowed money for capital purposes. From then until the beginning of World War I a total of \$663,600 was issued. These included \$450,000 bonds for the purchase of the privately owned water system, an issue noted by Mr. Morton to have been a striking exception to some of the others in that it yielded a high profit to the community. Not only has the city enjoyed a fine and adequate water supply, at very low rates, but over \$2,500,000 of water department surplus has been invested in new plant. Of the bonds issued during this period, \$54,600 are still outstanding including \$45,000 of the water issue.

The city's next borrowing occurred during the decade 1919-1929. In this period \$2,705,500 of new bonds were sold for a variety of general improvements. By 1929 the city had authorized bonds right up to the limit of its bonding capacity. Of the bonds issued during the decade, \$1,221,500 are still outstanding.

During the next ten years \$720,500 more bonds were issued. Of these, \$633,000 in 1936 and 1938 were sponsor's contributions for WPA and PWA projects, matched by federal funds. Some \$270,000 of the amount for sewers and paving accounted directly for improvements costing nearly \$1,000,000. The city manager notes that the issues of this period are second only to the early water bonds in the tangible benefits brought to the city at low cost. Still outstanding are \$549,500 of the issues of the decade. Since 1939 no new bonds have been sold.

The city's borrowing history may be summarized as follows:

	Borrowed	Outstanding
Issued prior to		
1852	\$ 500,000	\$ 339,500
Issued 1904-14	663,600	54,600
Issued 1919-29	2,705,500	1,221,500
Issued since		
1929	720,500	594,500
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$4,589,600	\$2,210,100

It is interesting to note that except for the bonds issued for railroad aid prior to 1852, the bulk of which were refunded and are still outstanding in the shape of refunding bonds, there has been no extreme deferment of payment. This is because the bonds issued since 1852 have been mainly 30-year serial bonds.

Furthermore, the scheduled rate of retirement on outstanding bonds is satisfactorily rapid—over the next four years \$553,400 of the bonds mature, or one-fourth of the amount outstanding, a rate a little better than the 5 per cent per year usually regarded as normal by authorities on municipal debt. Annual debt requirements were \$271,705 in 1931, and are now down to \$232,902, with steady declines called for from year to year hereafter.

Contemplating the need for repairs and new improvements after the present war has ended, the city is urged by City Manager Morton to start now to lay its plans for meeting the new costs from current funds, save for acquisition of the electric system serving the city, for which a large but self-liquidating bond issue will be required. Over the past several years some \$117,500 of new improvements have been financed from current revenues, without recourse to borrowing, and continuation of this policy through a separate capital budget is recommended for the postwar era.

New York City Seeks Revenues

On March 1 Mayor LaGuardia of New York City sent to the state legislature a request that the city sales tax, enacted in 1934 as an emergency levy of 2 per cent on selected sales to finance relief but cut to 1 per cent last year, be restored to the 2 per cent level. He also asked that the time limitation on the authorization be removed, and that the compensating use, utility, conduit, and business levies be restored from one-twentieth of 1 per cent to the former one-tenth of 1 per cent prevailing prior to July 1, 1942.

The measures were part of the program for more adequate revenues for the city, described here last month.

When the proposals were submitted it was reported that the Republican legislative majority would enact them. Later opposition developed and the sales tax bill was killed. The 1943-44 budget is now in preparation, with about \$30,000,000 in new revenues probably needed, and alternative measures are being submitted to the legislature.

Duluth Gears Salaries to Cost of Living Index

Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living indices for the city of Minneapolis have been made the basis for adjustments to salaries of Duluth city employees receiving \$275 per month or less. The index is based on the 1935-39 average equal to 100, and by ordinance the city council has provided that after the index reaches 109, an increase of \$1 per point of index increase will be made. No adjustments will be made, however, for changes of less than 2½ points and the maximum increase per person will be \$7.50 per month.

Kentucky Tax Reform

Two Kentucky developments in taxation are of more than local interest.

The Court of Appeals, the supreme

court of the state, on February 16, in *Thomas F. Burke vs. Department of Revenue and H. Clyde Reeves*, held constitutional a recently enacted statute authorizing the Kentucky Department of Revenue, among other things: (a) to test any person who seeks to qualify for county tax commissioner (assessor) by means of examination questions which "shall be formulated so as to fairly test the ability of the applicants to serve as county tax commissioner"; and (b) to order a reassessment of all the property or of any class of property in a county if the assessment was "not in substantial compliance with the law" and if "the interest of the public necessitates a reassessment." In both cases the court held that the standards prescribed by the legislature were sufficient—that there was no delegation of legislative authority.

The State Department of Revenue is experimenting with a plan to avoid over-use of equalization orders. Since the 1870's or 1880's the equalization agency has usually entered orders regarding local valuations in a majority of the counties. Until recent years the "equalization" was performed almost exclusively on the basis of hunches. For the last few years considerable data have been collected and analyzed, but the results of the process have not been satisfactory. This year, at the beginning of the assessment period, the Department of Revenue announced it was not going to enter any equalization orders. The announcement had no bearing on review proceedings. Assessments have not been entirely completed, but preliminary data suggest that the assessors may have done their work a little better than usual. Possibly the total performance may be inferior; that will not be clear till local review results have been tabulated.

JAMES W. MARTIN
University of Kentucky

County and Township
*Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck***Ohio Again Considers
County Home Rule*****Bill providing optional
charters before legislature***

ANOTHER county home rule bill has been introduced in the Ohio State General Assembly. Although the voters adopted a home rule amendment in 1933, which gives the legislature power to provide optional forms of county government, opposition in the legislature has thus far prevented passage of any law that would make the constitutional amendment effective.

Under the present law voters elect three county commissioners and eight heads of county departments. The pending bill would enable the voters to adopt either an "elective executive" or "appointive executive" form. The manager would be elected by the voters under the first plan and appointed by the county board of commissioners under the second. Under either plan the manager would appoint the heads of departments.

The State Committee of the Citizens League of Cleveland and other civic groups throughout the state are pressing for enactment of the bill, which they believe will give the voters of a county an opportunity to secure a more efficient form of government.

**Oregon Legislature Adopts
County Manager Amendment**

A constitutional amendment, giving the legislature authority to provide for adoption of the manager plan in any county by popular vote, has been passed by the Oregon legislature. The amendment must be submitted to the voters of the state for ratification.

***County Reform Revived
in Onondaga, New York***

In Syracuse, New York, the Onondaga County League of Women Voters has issued a broadside urging reform in county government. It advocates the establishment of the office of county manager appointive by the Board of Supervisors, with responsibility for the budget, for the appointment of administrative officers, and for the consolidation of departments.

***New County Legislation
in Tennessee***

Much of the legislation passed by the 1943 session of the Tennessee legislature deals with individual counties and cities.¹ For the most part, these "private acts" are concerned with purely local matters such as fixing the term and pay and prescribing the duties of local officials, authorizing bond issues, validating bonds already issued, changing city and county boundaries, and similar measures. Some of the local county legislation, however, is of interest. For example, legislation was passed providing a civil service system for county employees in Davidson County, containing the city of Nashville. A companion measure provides a pension system for county employees.

Further progress was made toward the establishment of improved local court systems. In three counties, Carter, Giles, and Lawrence, justice of the peace courts are abolished and courts of general sessions established.

A budget law has been enacted for the counties of Lincoln, Robertson, and Rutherford, and a purchasing commission or agent is established in De-

¹For a further account of laws enacted by the Tennessee legislature see p. 199.

Kalb, Lincoln, McMinn, Robertson, Rutherford, and Smith Counties.

Some ripper legislation was enacted by the session. An act passed applying to Bradley County, for example, abolishes the elected county governing body, sets up a new one, and names in the bill the members to serve on the governing body until the next general election. Similar measures redistricting the counties were enacted for Clay, Lawrence, McNairy, and Warren Counties.

M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)*

Another P. R. Bill for Philadelphia

Long Beach Campaign Begins Votes Count in Cincinnati

THE sixteen-year-old battle to get a modern, serviceable charter for the city of Philadelphia against the stubborn refusal of political forces at Harrisburg to give the city home rule continues, though with little immediate prospect of success.

This year Senator Harry Shapiro of Philadelphia, Democrat, member of an official charter commission which submitted one of these proposals in 1939 and co-sponsor with Senator George Woodward, Republican, of the commission's bill which passed the Senate in that year, has introduced another home rule proposal. His new proposal, however, is less ambitious than its predecessor and correspondingly less satisfactory to many of the leading citizens who have been working for charter reform. It omits the city manager plan and provides for an elected mayor and a city council of twelve. The council

would be elected at large either by majority vote or by proportional representation, depending on which option the voters preferred. A new finance department would absorb the functions of the Receiver of Taxes and the Board of Tax Revision in addition to preparing the budget and performing other financial functions.

Since Senator Shapiro's party is in the minority and there are no signs of a change of heart on the part of the Republican organization, prospects of success for his bill do not seem bright.

The experience of Pennsylvania cities is one of the most telling examples of the vital importance of municipal home rule in matters affecting the structure of local government. In 1922 the people of the state approved a constitutional amendment permitting home rule for cities and boroughs, but the legislature has steadfastly refused to implement it with the necessary legislation, either specific or general. Meanwhile wave after wave of strong popular demand for charter revision, centering mostly around P. R. and the manager plan, has risen in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and many other cities, with no tangible results so far.

Campaign Taking Shape in Long Beach

The Long Beach Citizens Union, a new group of prominent and energetic taxpayers which has been making civic affairs hum for the last few months in the little resort city on the south shore of Long Island, has announced preliminary plans for a drive to get P. R. and the city manager plan by popular vote at the election next fall.

The Union plans to work under an act which has just passed both houses of the state legislature unanimously to permit new city charters by petition and popular vote. The same bill

passed last year but was vetoed by Governor Lehman.¹

The Union's decision to try for a P. R.-manager charter follows the recommendation of a survey of the city government made for it by the Citizens' Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State and reported in this department for November 1942. The evidence of poor business methods uncovered has since led to an extensive check on the city's finances by the State Comptrollers' office, from which a report is expected soon.

An Object Lesson from Cincinnati

This article, by a law associate of Cincinnati's famous reform Mayor, Murray Seasongood, was first prepared shortly after the P. R. council election of 1939 but has never before been published. It is presented now because of its interest to students of P. R. as an illustration of the value of the transferable vote. It answers the question, often asked, why it would not be just as well to omit the transfers since those who lead on first choices are often the ones selected on the final count.

The November 1939 election of the Cincinnati City Council illustrated an important feature of proportional representation voting which has not received as prominent attention as it should. That is the importance of the transfers, which permit the voters to express an independent choice among the candidates and to have their preferences made fully effective for a second or later choice if the first choice is ultimately defeated.

The only way a candidate can exercise a second choice in a plurality election is through the intervention of a primary, and even then there is no third or later choice. If A, B, and C

are running in a general election without P. R. and the voter votes for C, who runs poorly, his choice is finished and he can no longer help to elect his preference between A and B.

That the greater freedom of the voter under P. R. can have a decisive influence on the result, even apart from the minority representation assured by giving each voter one vote in a contest for several members, was demonstrated forcibly in Cincinnati's 1939 election. It explains why the city elected as many members representing the independent City Charter Committee in that year as it did organization Republicans, though on first-choice votes the Republicans had 22,000 more votes than their rivals and appeared headed for five councilmen out of the total of nine. The story lies in the transfers, the second and later choices of the voters themselves.

At the close of the official count the group votes were as follows:

Organization Republicans	72,238
Charter voters	50,153
Bigelow and Craig, independents	13,990
Other independent voters	9,938

The quota for election was	14,632
Four full quotas required	58,528
Five full quotas required	73,160
The Republicans lacked 922 of five full quotas.	

The Charterites lacked 8,375 of four full quotas.

If the Republicans could make a net gain over losses on transfers of 922 votes, they could elect five; otherwise not, unless Bigelow fell by the wayside and their ninth man went in without a full quota.

If the Charter group could gain 8,375 more votes than it lost on transfers, it could elect four Councilmen.

Now, let us see what happened. Charter candidates received on transfers

¹NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, p. 360.

from Stewart, the Republican elected with a surplus, and the four eliminated Republicans 6,275 votes. That is, that number of voters who voted for Republicans first, actually preferred Charter candidates to those Republicans left in the race who needed votes to be elected. On the other hand, Republicans received 2,033 votes on transfers from the Charter candidates eliminated. This was a net gain to the Charter and a net loss to the Republicans of 4,242 votes.

The Charter candidates received 3,501 votes from Craig's transfers, but lost in transfers to Bigelow and Craig from its eliminated candidates 1,256 votes, making a net gain for the Charter group from this source of 2,245 votes. The Republicans lost 1,223 votes to Bigelow and Craig and got back 295 from Craig, a net Republican loss of 928 votes.

The Republicans gained 3,188 from other independents and lost only 155 to them, a net gain from this source of 3,033. The Charter gained 4,373 votes from other independents, and lost to them 210 votes, a net gain of 4,163 from this source.

While the transfers were occurring 664 Republican and 2,275 Charter first-choice votes became ineffective; that is, the voters on those ballots expressed no further preference among remaining candidates.

Now, if we add gains to, and subtract losses from, the total of first-choice votes by groups, we see what happened:

Charter

First-choice votes	50,153
Add net gain from Republicans	4,242

Add net gain from Craig and Bigelow	2,245
Add net gain from other independents	4,163
	—
Total	60,803
Subtract ineffectives	2,275
	—
Balance	58,528

which is exactly the four full quotas which elected the four Charterites.

Organization Republicans

First-choice votes	72,238
Subtract net loss to Charter	4,242
	—
	67,996
Subtract net loss to Bigelow and Craig	928
	—
	67,068
Add net gain from other independents	3,033
	—
	70,101
Subtract ineffectives	664
	—
	69,437
Four full quotas	58,528
	—

Surplus

10,909
which is exactly what Turpeau, the Republicans' fifth man, had left after all these transfers had been effected and four Republicans had been elected.

At this stage eight men had been elected by full quotas, and only Bigelow and Turpeau were left in the race. As Bigelow then had 13,035 to Turpeau's 10,909, the latter was eliminated and Bigelow, an Independent, was elected to the ninth place.

ROBERT P. GOLDMAN
Cincinnati

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Colonel Effingham's Raid. By Berry Fleming. New York City, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1943. 279 pp. \$2.50.

Novels seldom are reviewed in these pages but this piece of fiction comes so much closer to the truth about what ails our thousands of communities, so much closer to teaching the lessons which the National Municipal League has been solemnly pontificating for these forty-nine years, that we are greedily encouraged to wish its circulation were even larger than the several hundred thousand its selection by the Book-of-the-Month Club guarantees it.

With a rare and delightful humor, the story of the return of Colonel William Seaborn Effingham (U. S. Army, retired) to his home town of Fredericksville, Georgia, is seen through the eyes of Al Marbury, who possesses the two-fold advantage of wearing the thin veneer of cynicism which is supposed to clothe the typical young newspaperman and of feeling, as the Colonel's nephew, the usual embarrassment of a "respectable" old family at the discovery that one of its own members is so improper as to concern himself about local civic morality.

The Colonel, after a life of military service, can see with brilliant clarity that his once-proud little Georgia city has fallen completely into the hands of cheap, self-serving politicians; and a long devotion to the habit of fighting to win leaves him no stomach for the spirit of appeasement which he finds in the newspaper, the bankers, the clergy, and the like—those who are always called the local civic leaders.

Colonel Effingham's Raid is a powerfully-drawn picture of the sordid civic state not only of "Fredericksville"—but, tragically, of hundreds of communities

the attitude of whose "leading" citizens once caused William Howard Taft to remark sadly, "Too many people don't care what happens so long as it doesn't happen to them." He might well have added that mostly they don't even realize it is happening to them or, if they suspect it, they put aside the uncomfortable thought and, like the author's Al Marbury and a prominent business man who has profited greatly by "playing along with the gang," staunchly turn their attention to more impressive and distant problems such as telling Adolf Schickelgruber they don't like dictatorship—at least on an international scale.

The fact that a book dealing with venal local government has been chosen by the Book-of-the-Month Club and has won enthusiastic praise from reviewers does not, unfortunately, mean that publishers are currently awakening to the danger of losing our democracy on the home front. It is due to the fact that, as Clifton Fadiman says in *The New Yorker*, "Berry Fleming's light-hearted sketch of his native Deep South has a pleasingly un-Faulknerian sanity . . ." and, quoting the review in *The New York Times Book Review*, "With the publication of his novel he deserves to rank among the best of his contemporaries. He has tilted brilliantly with the ogres of privilege and probed the dry-rot of Dixie politics to the heart."

Mr. Fleming, a native of Georgia, was an editor of the *Advocate* and the *Lampoon* at Harvard, from which he graduated in 1922. He was a newspaperman in the South, then spent some years in New York and Europe while writing his other novels, *The Conqueror's Stone*, *Visa to France*, *The*

Square Root of Valentine, Siesta, and To the Market Place. Finally he went back, like his hero Colonel Effingham, to his old home town in Georgia where, also like the doughty Colonel, he wrote a column in a local newspaper in which he tried to arouse his neighbors to their responsibilities as citizens in a democracy and especially in a community which they all love.

As the reader contemplates the bravely fighting Colonel and the forces positively and negatively arrayed against him, he might well be prompted to indulge in a bit of healthy self-examination and a critical look into the recesses of his own city hall; but if he finds that too disturbing he can still enjoy a thoroughly charming and well written book.

A. W.

Metropolitan Government. By Victor Jones. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942. xxiv, 364 pp. \$4.

It is now more than a dozen years since the National Municipal League published Paul Studenski's *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States*, and it is well after the interval to have the subject treated again with the use of material which has accumulated since. But do not throw away your copy of Studenski; it isn't superseded, or in the least diminished in utility. It is well to have both it and Dr. Jones's more recent survey of the same field, and to attempt to measure progress between the two books.

Unhappily, the reviewer cannot report the extent of the gain, or loss, of ground in satisfactory units, or much better than he could have done at any intervening moment. It is tempting to believe that there are unseen gains, in wisdom and courage growing up with a younger generation who will one day face the problems of American metropolitan government with broad outlook

and unparochial loyalties.

Dr. Jones's outline is entirely acceptable, broaching the subject with description and statistics; reviewing histories; defining problems; examining structural, financial, legal, and political aspects of integration; and winding up in a short wrestle with the future. The book is little disfigured by inaccuracies, though some slips of proofreading, understanding, or fact can be discovered, if one doesn't mind noticing inconsequential.¹

Pleasingly introduced by Dr. Charles E. Merriam "as an observer rather than as an advocate," Dr. Jones is not by that characterization disabled from giving the benefit of his conclusions to those whose side he is on. Thus on page 154, at the end of two chapters examining eleven or so solutions, we find him saying (but without italics): "Without excluding the concurrent or temporary use of any other device(s), as long as they are recognized as stopgaps or as stepping-stones . . . , there are three types of metropolitan government to strive for: . . . Each will be a giant municipality."

The three worthy types are "(1) a reorganized and municipalized urban county, (2) a consolidated city-county, and (3) a 'federated' metropolitan government." To reach these as end products, Dr. Jones is willing to start wherever he can. Otherwise one might suppose that large parts of Chapter VI, on structure, and VIII, on law, are digressions, dealing with counties as counties, saying much very well, but all being what might be said or has been said of counties without regard to their transformation into metropolitan governments. The cord by which these pas-

¹Among the deletions and suppressions made by a space-thrifty editor in copy for this review were a selection of illustrations, leaving the reader free to pick his own. AUTHOR.

sages are bound to the main theme appears to be the hypothesis that if we make the government of a county splendid and good it will then become feasible "to consolidate it with the municipalities therein or to transform it into the central unit of a federated metropolis." (P. 155.) Does the formula work more potently when the county is the brightest beacon than when the differential is headed the other way? If comparative merit be the index to voting power, should the record of annexation elections be what it is? Would it be possible to rehabilitate annexation by similar medicine—would it be reasonable perhaps to anticipate success for a movement to annex Chicago to Winnetka?

Such questions, happily, will not daunt Dr. Jones. "A large and bold device may catch the imagination of the electorate when a half-hearted plan would evoke little popular response." (P. 122.)

Dr. Jones's book is no record of impressive progress. Compare the current metropolitan governmental scene, as he describes it, against that of Studenski, or of a long memory. The improvements one may discern are almost all in other aspects than the one which makes the subject of the book. In that aspect the chaos is perdurable, and the more it has changed the more it is the same thing—whether one looks at population, at the governmental needs of the areas, the essentials of attendant problems, at the unsolving solutions which are the best we have contrived to date, at the legal impediments, or at the Sisyphean practical task of procuring the adoption of the worst or the best of them, or of some more perfect solution as yet undreamed of. Could not Rip Van Winkle, awakening today with a half-written twenty-year-old manuscript on the infirmities of metropolitan governmental patterns, finish

the work in up-to-date style without leaving the woods?

Dr. Jones closes with a chapter entitled "Judging the Future by the Past." He does not blink the meagerness of success in the record, nor the difficulties between us and genuinely successful integration of metropolitan governments. Stout-heartedly he tells us that success is not unattainable; bids us carry on without flagging, and to employ superior inducements and skills. If only we could be sure that the paths he says are open to us are not the very ruts our feet have worn, and do not lead to the familiar stone wall against which full many of us have cracked our skulls! Anyway, he's right on the main point. We can keep at it.

EMMETT L. BENNETT

Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Bonds

State and Municipal Bonds Legal for Savings Banks in New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Revised to February 8, 1943. New York, *The Bond Buyer*, 1943. 21 pp.

Juvenile Delinquency

Jurisdiction over Juvenile Offenders. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1942. 32 pp.

Labor

Labor Relations in the New York City Transit System. Statement by a Committee of Citizens Formed to Aid in the Settlement of the Labor Controversy in the Transit System, Arthur W. MacMahon, Chairman. New York, 1943. 26 pp.

Land Use

State and Federal Lands in Michigan.
Lansing, Michigan State Planning Commission, 1943. 40 pp.

Legislation

Proposed Bills Submitted to the General Assembly of 1943; Additional Proposed Bills Submitted to the General Assembly of 1943; Report to the General Assembly of 1943. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, 1943. 212, 163 and 140 pp. respectively.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A Record of Recent Civic Advances in the Fields of Planning, Parks, Housing, and Neighborhood Improvement, Including the Addresses and Discussions of the National Conference on Planning, Held at Indianapolis, Indiana, May 25-27, 1942, and the Round Table Conference on Wartime Uses of State Parks, Held at Chicago, Illinois, September 23-24, 1942. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1943. x, 254 pp. \$3.

Personnel

National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel. Report to the National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. iv, 47 pp. Ten cents.

Parking

The Parking Problem—A Library Research. By the Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, Inc. Saugatuck, Connecticut, 1942. 82 pp.

Population Trends

The Economic Pattern of World Population. By J. B. Condliffe. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. 54 pp. 25 cents.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 167)

grown up, what happens? He goes to work among voters who too often have developed a "what's the use" attitude toward voting, or he moves on to college where, with a few notable exceptions, the emphasis is on national and international affairs—if he "takes" government courses at all. And the student begins to lose his awareness that a citizen can make his vote count in a local election as nowhere else.

In any event, there is almost certain to be a distinct let-down. The youthful idealistic urge to have a go at some of these situations which are generally admitted to be bad but about which too few are inclined to do anything begins to wane as the "practical realities of life" seep in. The fine convictions about a voter's duty and power which high school teachers planted—or at least should have—have begun to fade.

It is general knowledge that educators and others have been making slow progress in their efforts to make the study of civics or the social sciences more effective. Progress unquestionably would be hastened if teachers faced the certainty that the young people in their charge were on the verge of assuming the full responsibilities of citizenship, passing almost directly from the classroom to the polling place. Our educational system surely would accept this challenge promptly and rise to the opportunity to provide basic, constructive training during at least the final high school year. This one hope alone surely would be ample justification for lowering the voting age.